THE NATIONAL ERA.

L. P. NOBLE, PUBLISHER. G. BAILEY, JUN., EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; J. G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR. BUELL & BLANCHARD, PRINTERS.

VOL. II. WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1848. NO. 80.

The National Era is Published Weekly, on Seventh Street, opposite the Patent Office.

TERMS.

Two dollars per annum, *payable in advance.*

Advertisements not exceeding ten lines inserted three times for one dollar; every subsequent insertion, twenty-five cents.

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WASHINGTON, JULY 10, 1848.

For the National Era.

STRAY LEAVES FROM MARGARET SMITH'S DIARY IN THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

[CONTINUED.]

Agamenticus, Sept'r 10.—I doe find myself truly comfortable at this place. My two cousins, Polly and Thankful, are both young, unmarried women, verie kind and pleasant, and, since my Newbury friends left, I have been learning of them manie things pertaining to housekeeping, albeit I am still but a poor scholar. Uncle is marshall of the Province, which takes him much from home, and aunt, who is a sicklie woman, keeps much in her chamber, soe that the affairs of the household and of the plantation doe mainlie rest upon the young women. If ever I get back to Hilton Grange again, I shall have tales to tell of my baking and brewing, of my pumpkin pies, and bread made of the flour of the Indian corn; yes, more, of gathering of the wild fruit in the woods, and cranberries in the meadows, milking the cowes, and looking after the pigs and barn-yard fowles. Then, too, we have had manie pleasant little journies, by water and on horseback, young Mr. Jordan, of Spurwink, who hath asked Polly in marriage, going with us. A right comelie youth he is, but a great churchman, as might be expected, his father being the minister of the Black Point people, and verie bitter towards the Massachusetts, and its clergy and Government. My Uncle, who meddles little with church matters, thinks him a hopeful young man and not an ill suitor for his daughter. He hath been in England for his learning, and is accounted a scholar, but, although intended for the Church service, he inclineth more to the life of a planter, and taketh the charge of his father's plantation at Spurwink. Polly is not beautiful and graceful like Rebecca Rawson, but she hath freshness of youth and health, and a certain good-heartedness of look and voice, and a sweetness of temper, which doe commend her in the eyes of all. Thankful is older by some years, and, if not as cheerful and merrie as her sister, it needs not be marvelled at, since one whom she loved was killed in the Narragansett countrie two years ago. Oh, these bloodie Warres! There be few in these Eastern provinces who have not been called to mourn the loss of some neare and deare friend, soe that of a truth *the land mourns.*

Sept'r ye 18.—Meeting much disturbed yesterday, a ranting Quaker coming in and sitting with his hat on in sermon time, humming and groaning, and rocking his bodie to and fro like one possessed. After a time he got up, and pronounced a great woe upon the priests, calling them manie hard names, and declaring that the whole land stonk with their hypocrisie. Uncle spake sharplie to him, and bid him hold his peace, but he onlie cried out the louder. Some young men then took hold of him, and carried him out. They brought him along close to my seat, he hanging like a bag of meal, with his eyes shut, as ill-favored a bodie as I ever beheld. The magistrates had him smartly whipped this morning, and sent out of the jurisdiction. I was told he was no true Quaker, for, although a noisie, brawling hanger-on at their meetings, he is not in fellowship with the more sober and discreet of that people.

Rebecca writes me that the witchcraft in William Noyes his house is much talked of, and that Caleb Powell hath been complained of as the wizard. Mr. Jordan the elder says he does in no wise marvel at the Devil's power in the Massachusetts, since at his instigation the rulers and ministers of the Colonie have set themselves against the true and Gospel order of the Church, and doe slander and persecute all who will not worshippe at their conventicles.

A Mr. Van Valken, a young gentleman of Dutch descent, and the agent of Sir Edmund Andross, of the Duke of York's territory, is now in this place, being entertained by Mr. GODFREY, the late Deputy Governor. He brought a letter for me from Aunt Rawson, whom he met in Boston. He is a learned, serious man, hath travelled a good deal, and hath an aire of high breeding. The minister here thinks him a Papist, and a Jesuit, especiallie as he hath not called upon him nor been to the meeting. He goes soon to Pemaquid, to take charge of that Fort and trading station, which have greatlie suffered by the Warre.

Sept'r ye 30th.—Yesterday, Cousin Polly and myself, with young Mr. Jordan, went up to the top of the Mountain, which is some miles from the harbor. It is not hard to climb in respect to steepness, but it is soe tangled with with bushes and vines that one can scarce break through them. The open places were yellow with Golden Rods, and the pale asters were plenty in the shade and by the side of the brooke, that with pleasing noise did leap down the hill. When we got upon the top, which is bare and rocky, we had a faire view of the coast, with its many windings and its islands, from the Cape Ann, near Boston, to the Cape Elizabeth, near Casco, the Piscataqua and Agamenticus rivers, and awaie in the Northwest we could see the peaks of mountains, looking like summer clouds, or banks of gray fogg. These mountains lie manie leagues off in the wildernesses, and are said to be exceeding loftie.

But I must needs speak of the color of the woods which did greatlie amaze me, as unlike anything I had ever seen in old England. As far as mine eyes could look, the mightie wilderness, under a bright westering Sun, and stirred by a gentle wind, did seem like a garden in its season of flowering; green, dark and light, orange and pale yellow, and crimson leaves, mingling and interweaving their various hues, in a manner truly wonderful to behold. It is owing, I am told, to the sudden frosts which in this climate doo smite the vegetation in its full life and greenness, soe that, in the space of a few days, the colors of the leaves are marvellously changed and brightened. The tints did remind me of the stains of the windows of old churches, and of rich tapestrie. The maples were all a-flame with crimson, the walnuts were orange, the hemlocks and cedars were well-nigh black, while the slender birches, with their pale yellow leaves, seemed painted upon them as pictures are laid upon a dark ground. I gazed until mine eyes grew wearie, and a sense of the wonderful beautie of the visible creation, and of God's great goodness to the Children of men therein, did rest upon me, and I said in mine heart, with one of old: "*Oh, Lord! how manifold are thy works: in wisdom hast thou made them all, and the earth is full of thy riches.*"

Oct'r ye 8th.—Mr. Van Valken, the Dutchman, hadde before Mr. Rishworth, one of the Commissioners of the Province, charged with being a Papist and a Jesuit. He bore himself, I am told, haughtilie enough, denying the right to call him in question, and threatening the interference of his friend and ruler, Sir Edmund, on account of the wrong done him. My Uncle and others did testify that he was a civil and courteous gentleman, not intermeddling with matters of a religious nature; and that they did regard it as a foul shame to the town that he should be molested in this wise. But the minister put them to silence, by testifying that he (Van Valken) had given awaie sundry Papist Books; and, one of them being handed to the Court, it proved to be a Latin treatise, by one Thomas a Kempis, entitled, "The Imitation of Christ." Hereupon, Mr. Godfrey asked if there was ought evil in the book. The minister said it was written by a Monk, and was full of heresie, favoring both the Quakers and the Papists; but Mr. Godfrey told him it had been rendered into the English tongue, and printed some years before in the Massachusetts Colony; and asked him if he did accuse such men as Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Wilson, and the godlie ministers of their day, of heresie. "Nay," quoth the minister, "they did see the heresie of the Book, and, on their condemning it, the General Court did forbid its sale." Mr. Rishworth hereupon said he did judge the book to be pernicious, and bade the constable burn it in the street, which he did. Mr. Van Valken, after being gravely admonished, was set free; and he now saith he is no Papist, but that he would not have said that much to the Court to save his life, inasmuch as he did deny its right of arraigning him. Mr. Godfrey says the treatment whereof he complains is but a sample of what the people hereaway are to expect from the Massachusetts jurisdiction. Mr. Jordan the younger says his father hath a copy of the condemned book, of the Boston printing; and I being curious to see it, he offers to get it for me.

Like unto Newbury, this is an old towne for so newe a countrie. It was made a citie in 1642, and took the name of *Georgianna*, after that of the Lord Proprietor, Sir Ferdinando Gorges. The Government buildings are spacious, but now falling into decay somewhat. There be a few stone houses, but the major part are framed, or laid up with squared logs. The look of the land a little out of the town is rude and forbidding, being much covered with stones and stumps; yet the soil is said to be strong, and the pear and apple doe flourish well here; also, they raise rye, oats, and barlie, and the Indian corn, and abundence of turnips, as well as pumpkins, squashes, and melons. The Warre with the Indians, and the troubles and changes of Government, have pressed heavilie upon this and other towns of the Maine, soe that I am told that there be now fewer wealthie planters here than there were twenty years ago, and little increase of sheep or horned cattle. The people doe seem to me less sober and grave, in their carriage and conversation, than they of the Massachusetts—hunting, fishing, and fowling more, and working less. Nor doo they keep the Lord's day soe strict; manie of the young people going abroad, both riding and walking, visiting each other, and diverting themselves, especiallie after the meetings are over.

Oct'r ye 9th.—Goodwife Nowell, an ancient gossip of mine Aunt's, looking in this morning, and talking of the trial of the Dutchman, Van Valken, spake of the coming into these parts manie years ago of one Sir Christopher Gardiner, who was thought to be a Papist. He sought lodgings at her house for one whom he called his Cousin, a fair young woman, together with her serving girl, who did attend upon her. She tarried about a month, seeing no one, and going out onlie towards the evening, accompanied by her servant. She spake little, but did seem melancholie, and exceeding mournful, often crying verie bitterlie. Sir Christopher came onlie once to see her, and Nowell saith she well remembers seeing her take leave of him on the road side, and come back weeping and sobbing dolefullie; and that a little time after, hearing that he had gotten into trouble in Boston as a Papist, and man of loose behaviour, she suddenlie took her departure in a vessel sailing for the Massachusetts, leaving to her, in pay for house-room and diet, a few coins, a gold cross, and some silk stuffs and kerchiefs. The cross being such as the Papists doe worship, and therefore unlawful, her husband did beat it into a solid wedge privatelie, and kept it from the knowledge of the minister and the magistrates. But, as the poor man never prospered after, but lost his cattell and grain, and two of their children dying of measles the next year, and he himself being sicklie, and neare his end, he spake to her of the golden cross, saying that he did believe it was a great sin to keep it, as he had done, and that it had wrought evil upon him, even as the wedge of gold and the shekels and Babylonish garment did upon Achan, who was stoned, with all his house, in the valley of Achor; and the minister coming in, and being advised concerning it, he judged that, although it might be a sin to keep it hidden from a love of riches, it might, nevertheless, be safelie used to support Gospel preaching and ordinances, and soe did himself take it away. The Goodwife says, that notwithstanding her husband died soon after, yet herself and household did from thenceforth begin to amend their estate and condition.

Seeing me curious concerning this Sir Christopher and his Cousin, Goodwife Nowell said there was a little parcel of papers which she did find in her room after the young woman went away, and she thought they might yet be in some part of her house, though she had not seen them for a score of years. Thereupon, I begged of her to look for them, which she promised to do.

Oct'r ye 14th.—A strange and wonderful Providence! Last night there was a great companie of the neighbors at my Uncle's, to help him in the husking and stripping of the corn, as is the custom in these parts. The barn floor was aboute half filled with the corn in its dry leaves; the companie sitting down on blocks and stools before it, plucking off the leaves, and throwing the yellow ears into baskets. A pleasant and merrie evening we had; and, when the corn was nigh stripped, I went into the house with Cousin Thankful, to look to the supper and the laying of the tables, when we heard a loud noise in the barn, and one of the girls came running in, crying out, "Oh, Thankful! Thankful! John Gibbins has appeared to us!—His spirit is in the barn!" The plates dropped from my Cousin's hand, and, with a faint cry, she sank back against the wall for a little space; when, hearing a man's voice without, speaking her name, she ran to the door, with the look of one beside herself, while I, trembling to see her in such a plight, followed her. There was a clear moon, and a tall man stood in the light close to the door.

"John," said my Cousin, in a quick, choking voice, "Is it thou?"

"Why, Thankful, don't you know me? I'm alive, but the folke in the barn will have it that I'm a ghost," said the man, springing towards her.

With a great cry of joy and wonder, my Cousin caught hold of him: "Oh, John, you *are* alive!"

Then she swooned quite away, and we had a deal to do to bring her to life again. By this time, the house was full of people, and among the rest came John's old mother and his sisters, and we all did weep and laugh at the same time. As soon as we got a little quieted, John told us that he had indeed been grievously stunned by the blow of a tomahawk, and left for dead by his comrades, but that after a time he did come to his senses, and was able to walk, but, falling into the hands of the Indians, he was carried off to the French Canadas, where, by reason of his great suffering on the way, he fell sick, and lay for a long time at the point of death. That when he did get about again, the savage who lodged him, and who had taken him as a son, in the place of his own, slain by the Mohawks, would not let him go home, although he did confess that the Warre was at an end. His Indian father, he said, was feeble and old, died not long ago, and he had made his way home by the way of Crown Point and Albany. Supper being readie, we all sat down, and the minister, who had been sent for, offered thanks for the marvellous preserving and restoring of the friend who was lost and now was found, as also for the blessings of peace, by reason of which every man could now eat *under his own vine and fig tree, with none to molest or make him afraid,* and for the abundance of the harvest, and the treasures of the seas, and the spoil of the woods, soe that our land might take up the song of the Psalmist: *The Lord doth build up Jerusalem; he gathereth the outcasts of Israel; he healeth the broken in heart. Praise thy God, oh Zion! For he strengtheneth the bars of thy gates, he maketh peace in thy borders, and filleth thee with the finest of wheat.* Oh! a sweet supper we had, albeit little was eaten, for we were filled full of joy, and needed not other food. When the companie had gone, my dear Cousin and her betrothed went a little apart, and talked of all that had happened unto them during their long separation. I left them sitting lovingly together in the light of the moon, and a measure of their unspeakable happiness did go with me to my pillow.

This morning, Thankful came to my bedside to pour out her heart to me. The poor girl is like a new creature. The shade of her heavy sorrow, which did formerlie rest upon her countenance, hath passed off like a morning cloud, and her eye hath the light of a deep and quiet joy.

"I now know," said she, "what David meant when he said, '*We are like them that dream; our mouth is filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing; The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad!*'"

LITERARY NOTICES.

The claims of politics are so exacting that less time is left us for literary recreation than we should like. Sometimes we are inclined to envy the placid enjoyments, the tranquil meditations of the select few who, having escaped the irritating turmoil of the Present, are engaged in converse with the Past, or speculation on the Future. But, were all thus employed, the lessons of the Past would be fruitless, and the Future would inherit no legacy from the Present.

This is a robust age, and a Literature that would have been prized in the last century, would be regarded as effeminate in this. The great social questions that are now agitating mankind, so intimately concern every individual man, and every relation he sustains, that it seems almost inexcusable to use Mind at all, except for their illustration and solution.

Such seems to be the controlling idea of those important aids to thought, and agencies of progress, the Quarterlies. We have been struck with the strongly practical character of these publications for a long time past. More than any other Literature, they reflect the great ideas, and struggles, and aspirations, of this era.

The North British Review, for May, is eminent in this respect. It opens with an able and interesting leader on the French Revolution, animated in its narrative, and liberal in its philosophy. Another article presents a clear, luminous, and at the same time concise exposition of the great social movements in France, originated by ST. SIMON and FOURRIER, accompanied by very entertaining sketches of the psychological career of these remarkable men. The tone of the article may be inferred from the judicious admonition with which it closes, the more remarkable, emanating from such a quarter:

"We wait to see the issues—in fear, we acknowledge, more than in hope; but, meanwhile, let us look on and be ready to appropriate the lessons which Paris shall be teaching us. If out of the social chaos which its vehement and susceptible inhabitants are preparing, almost of design, for their country, any idea, good and practical, with proofs and corroborations attached to it, shall emerge, let us give it at once due welcome, nor quarrel with it because of the quarter whence it comes. And surely, even already there is one lesson clearly enough written out in the light of this great outbreak. Let us try now all the more earnestly, through the neglected multitudes of the lower class among ourselves, to spread the spirit of an intelligent and healthful Christianity; for, had such a spirit pervaded to any extent the population of Paris, it had been saved all the horrors of the Past and of the Future. The hope of the neglected children of toil had found better and more satisfying objects to rest upon, and their sense of injury had made other and more legitimate manifestations."

The spirit of Christianity must certainly have pervaded the Paris population to some extent, or it would not have signalized its uprising by so much forbearance and moderation, nor would its representatives, among their first acts, have decreed the abolition of capital punishment for political offences. If this were not the spirit of Christianity, what was it? Nor, however mistaken it may have been in some of its measures, can we discover in its longing desire to elevate labor, and secure to the children of toil just rewards, anything at variance with the sublimest lessons of Holy Writ.

The *North British Review* is characterized by great ability. It is republished by Leonard Scott & Co., New York. Agent for Washington, W. Adam, Pennsylvania avenue, near 6th street.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. A Quarterly Miscellany—Nos. 1 and 2. January and April, 1848. Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber & Co. Editor, C. Chauncey Burr.

This new Quarterly we have been intending to notice for some time. It is substantially and handsomely got up—paper and type excellent. It is intended to embody the spirit of the Nineteenth Century, and its motto is, "Excelsior"—or, in its own language, printed at the foot of a beautiful picture representing a young man glowing with heavenly truth, enveloped in clouds through which light from above is beginning to stream down upon his uplifted brow, "Light, More Light" The topics treated of in the two numbers before us, are generally of absorbing interest to the Public, and the discussions are frank, fearless, sometimes thorough, rarely marked by any particular respect for authorities or precedents. The editor has attempted, with considerable success, we think, to relieve the gravity of a Quarterly with the attractions of ideal literature.

MARY GROVER, or the Trusting Wife. A Domestic Temperance Tale. By Charles Burdett. New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Burdett has written much to the profit of the public, but we have seen nothing from his pen that has pleased us so much as this Temperance story, at once painful and delightful. The heaven of a quiet home, before the Destroyer enters; the wiles by which virtue is undermined and manhood debased by the insidious power of a loathsome appetite; the omnipotent influence of religious principle, when illustrated and enforced by a wife, hoping against hope, trusting when all others despair, clinging to the once pure, but now foul and reeking form, the more closely for being sternly repulsed; the resolutions of reform, made but to be broken; the final struggle for redemption, the agony, the victory, the restoration of peace, purity, home affections, and home delights, are all depicted in this little volume, with an energy and pathos, which keeps the heart of the reader in a tumult of emotion. A story better calculated to sober the drunkard, or correct the moderate drinker, could scarcely be written.

KINGS AND QUEENS; or Life in the Palace. By John S. C. Abbott. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This volume contains Historical Sketches of Josephine and Maria Louisa, Louis Philippe, Ferdinand of Austria, Nicholas, Isabella II, Leopold, and Victoria. It is what people call a readable book. The sketches are animated, and the author shows much tact in bringing out the strong points of his subjects, and grouping incidents and anecdotes in such a way as to illustrate peculiarities of character, and suggest apt reflections. The portrait of the illustrious but unhappy Josephine is drawn with great skill, and the poor-spirited Maria Louisa is happily used to heighten by contrast the effect of the picture.

The following account of the Divorce of Josephine, an act which stamps the memory of Napoleon with infamy, will be read with interest. If the motive to this act were the desire to found a dynasty, or ally himself with ancient Royalty, the fact proves that the greatest of conquerors could be the meanest of men.

DIVORCE OF JOSEPHINE.

"Rumors had for some time been reaching Josephine of the doom which was impending over her. Agitated with the most terrible fears, and again clinging to trembling hope, the unhappy Empress passed several weeks in the agony of suspense. Both were under great restraint, and neither hardly ventured to look at the other. The contemplated divorce was noised abroad, and Josephine read, in the averted looks of her former friend, the indications of her approaching disgrace. Napoleon and Josephine had been accustomed to live upon terms of the most affectionate intimacy, and, in their private hours, free from the restraints of a Court, she would loiter in his cabinet, and he would steal in, an ever-welcome visiter, upon the secrecy of her boudoir. Now, reserve and restraint marked every word and movement. The private access between their apartments was closed. Napoleon no longer entered her boudoir; but, when he wished to speak to her, respectfully knocking at the door, would wait her approach. Whenever Josephine heard the sound of his approaching footsteps, the fear that he was coming with the terrible announcement of separation immediately caused such violent palpitations of the heart that it was with the utmost difficulty she could totter across the floor, even when supporting herself by leaning against the walls, and catching at the articles of furniture. They had many private interviews before Napoleon ventured to announce directly his determination, in which he hinted at the necessity of the measure. From all these interviews, Josephine returned with her eyes so swollen with weeping, as to give her attendants the erroneous impression that personal violence was used to compel her to consent.

"The fatal day for the announcement at length arrived. Josephine appears to have had some presentiment that her doom was sealed, for all the day she had been in her private apartment weeping bitterly. As the dinner hour approached, to conceal her weeping and swollen eyes, she wore a head-dress with a deep front, which shaded the whole of the upper part of her face. They dined alone. Napoleon entered the room in the deepest embarrassment. He uttered not a word, but mechanically struck the edge of his glass with his knife, as if to divert his thoughts. Josephine could not conceal the convulsive agitations of her frame. They sat together during the whole meal in silence. The various courses were brought in, and removed, untouched by either. Says Josephine: 'We dined together as usual. I struggled with my tears, which, notwithstanding every effort, overflowed from my eyes. I uttered not a single word during that solitary meal; and he broke silence but once, to ask an attendant about the weather. *My* sunshine, I saw, had passed away; the storm burst quickly.' Immediately after this sorrowful repast, Napoleon requested the attendants to leave the room. The Emperor, closing the door after them with his own hand, approached Josephine, who was trembling in every nerve. The struggle in the soul of Napoleon was fearful. His whole frame trembled. His countenance assumed the expression of the firm resolve which nerved him to this unpardonable wrong. He took the hand of the Empress, pressed it to his heart, gazed for a moment, speechless, upon those features which had won his youthful love, and then, with a voice tremulous with the storm which shook both soul and body, said:

"'Josephine, my good Josephine, you know how I have loved you; it is to you, to you alone, that I owe the few moments of happiness I have known in the world. Josephine, my destiny is more powerful than my will. My dearest affections must yield to the interests of France.'

"'Say no more,' exclaimed the Empress, in mortal anguish; 'I expected this, I understand and feel for you; but the stroke is not the less mortal.' And, with a piercing shriek, she fell lifeless on the floor.

"Napoleon hastily opened the door and called for help. His physician, Dr. Corvisart, was at hand, and, entering with other attendants, they raised the unconscious Josephine from the floor, who, in a delirium of agony, was exclaiming, 'Oh, no! you cannot, you cannot do it! you would not kill me.' Napoleon supported the limbs of Josephine, while another bore her body, and thus they conveyed her to her bed-room. Placing the insensible Empress upon the bed, Napoleon again dismissed the attendants, and rang for her woman, who, on entering, found him bending over her lifeless form, with an expression of the deepest anxiety and anguish. Napoleon slept not that night, but paced his room in silence and solitude, probably lashed by an avenging conscience. He frequently, during the night, returned to Josephine's room to inquire concerning her situation, but each time the sound of his footstep and of his voice almost threw the agonized Empress into convulsions. 'No! no!' says Josephine, 'I cannot describe the horror of my situation during that night! Even the interest which *he* affected to take in my sufferings seemed to me additional cruelty. Oh! how justly had I reason to dread becoming an Empress!'

"At length the day arrived for the public announcement of the divorce. The Imperial Council of State was convened in the Tuileries, and all the members of the imperial family and all the prominent officers of the Empire were present. Napoleon, with his pale and care-worn features, but ill-concealed by the drooping plumes which were arranged to overshadow them, sacrificing strong love to still stronger ambition, with a voice made firm by the very struggle with which he was agitated, in the following terms assigned to the world the reasons for this cruel separation:

"'The political interests of my monarchy, the wishes of my people, which have constantly guided my actions, require that I should leave behind me, to heirs of my love, for my people, the throne on which Providence has placed me. For many years I have lost all hopes of having children by my beloved spouse, the Empress Josephine. That it is which induces me to sacrifice the sweetest affections of my heart, to consider only the good of my subjects, and desire the dissolution of our marriage. Arrived at the age of forty years, I may indulge a reasonable hope of living long enough to rear, in the spirit of my own thoughts and disposition, the children with which it may please Providence to bless me. God knows what such a determination has cost my heart; but there is no sacrifice which is above my courage, when it is proved to be for the interests of France. Far from having any cause of complaint, I have nothing to say but in praise of the attachment and tenderness of my beloved wife. She has embellished fifteen years of my life; the remembrance of them shall be forever engraven on my heart. She was crowned by my hand; she shall retain always the rank and title of Empress. But, above all, let her never doubt my feelings, or regard me but as her best and dearest friend.'

"Josephine, with a faltering voice, and with her eyes suffused with tears, replied:

"'I respond to all the sentiments of the Emperor, in consenting to the dissolution of a marriage which henceforth is an obstacle to the happiness of France, by depriving it of the blessing of being one day governed by the descendants of that great man, evidently raised up by Providence to efface the evils of a terrible revolution, and restore the altar, the throne, and social order. But his marriage will in no respect change the sentiments of my heart; the Emperor will ever find in me his best friend. I know what this act, commanded by policy and exalted interest, has cost his heart; but we both glory in the sacrifices which we make to the good of our country. I feel elevated by giving the greatest proof of attachment that was ever given upon earth.'

"Such were the sentiments, replete with dignity and grandeur, which were uttered in public; but Josephine returned from this dreadful effort to her chamber of the darkest woe, and, so violent and so protracted was her anguish, that for six months she wept so incessantly as to be nearly blinded with grief. The next day after the public announcement to the Imperial Council of State of the intended separation, the whole Imperial family were assembled in the grand saloon of the Tuileries for the legal consummation of the divorce. It was the 16th of December, 1810. Napoleon was there in all his robes of state, yet care-worn and wretched. With his arms folded across his breast, he leaned against a pillar as motionless as a statue, uttering not a word to any one, and apparently insensible of the tragedy enacting around him, of which he was the sole author, and eventually the most pitiable victim. The members of the Bonaparte family, who were jealous of the almost boundless influence which Josephine had exerted over their imperial brother, were all there secretly rejoicing in her disgrace. In the centre of the apartment there was a small table, and upon it a writing apparatus of gold. An arm-chair was placed before the table. A silence, as of death, pervaded the room. All eyes were fixed upon that chair and table, as though they were the instruments of a dreadful execution. A side door opened, and Josephine entered, supported by her daughter Hortense, who, not possessing the fortitude of her mother, burst into tears as she entered the apartment, and continued sobbing as though her heart would break. All immediately arose upon the appearance of Josephine. She wore a simple dress of white muslin, unadorned by a single ornament. With that peculiar grace for which she was ever distinguished, she moved slowly and silently to the seat prepared for her. Leaning her elbow upon the table, and supporting her pallid brow with her hand, she struggled to repress the anguish of her soul as she listened to the reading of the act of separation. The voice of the reader was interrupted only by the convulsive sobbings of Hortense, who stood behind her mother's chair. Eugene also stood beside his mother in that dreadful hour, pale, and trembling like an aspen leaf. Josephine sat with tears silently trickling down her cheeks, in the mute composure of despair.

"At the close of this painful duty, Josephine for a moment pressed her handkerchief to her weeping eyes; but, instantly regaining her composure, arose, and with her voice of ineffable sweetness, in clear and distinct tones, pronounced the oath of acceptance. Again she sat down, and with a trembling hand took the pen and placed her signature to the deed which forever separated her from the object of her dearest affections and from her most cherished hopes. Scarcely had she laid down her pen, when Eugene dropped lifeless upon the floor, and he was borne to his chamber in a state of insensibility as his mother and sister retired.

"But there still remained another scene of anguish in this day of woe. Josephine sat in her chamber, in solitude and speechlessness, till Napoleon's usual hour for retiring to rest had arrived. In silence and in wretchedness, Napoleon had just placed himself in the bed from which he had ejected the wife of his youth, and his servant was waiting only to receive orders to retire, when suddenly the private door to his chamber opened, and Josephine appeared, with swollen eyes and disheveled hair, and all the dishabille of unutterable agony. With trembling steps she tottered into the room, approached the bed, and then irresolutely stopped, and burst into an agony of tears. Delicacy—a feeling as if she *now* had no right to be *there*—seemed at first to have arrested her progress; but, forgetting everything in the fullness of her grief, she threw herself upon the bed, clasped her husband's neck, and sobbed as if her heart had been breaking. Napoleon also wept, while he endeavored to console her, and they remained for some time locked in each other's arms, silently mingling their tears together. The attendant was dismissed, and, for an hour, they remained together in this last private interview, and then Josephine parted forever from the husband she had so long, so fondly, and so faithfully loved. As Josephine retired, the attendant again entered, and found Napoleon so buried in the bedclothes as to be invisible. And when he arose in the morning, his pale and haggard features gave attestation of the sufferings of a sleepless night.

"At eleven o'clock the next day Josephine was to leave the scene of all her earthly greatness, and to depart from the Tuileries forever. The whole household were assembled on the stairs and in the vestibule, in order to obtain a last look of a mistress whom they had loved, and who, to use an expression of one present, 'carried with her into exile the hearts of all who had enjoyed the happiness of access to her presence.' Josephine appeared, leaning upon the arm of one of her ladies, and veiled from head to foot. She held a handkerchief to her eyes, and moved forward amid silence, at first uninterrupted, but to which almost immediately succeeded a universal burst of grief. Josephine, though not insensible to this proof of attachment, spoke not; but instantly entering a close carriage, with six horses, drove rapidly away, without casting one look backward on the scene of past greatness and departed happiness. The palace of Malmaison was assigned to Josephine for her future residence, and a jointure of about six hundred thousand dollars a year settled upon her. Here, after many months of tears, she gradually regained composure, as time healed the wound which had been inflicted upon her heart. It was soon evident that there was no surer way of securing the favor of Napoleon than by paying marked attention to Josephine. She was consequently treated with the utmost deference by all the ambassadors of foreign Courts and all the crowned heads of Europe.

"One of the ladies who had been attached to the brilliant Court of Josephine, upon the fall of her mistress, was anxious to abandon her, and to revolve as a satellite around the new luminary, Maria Louisa. To the application, Napoleon replied, in an angry tone, 'No! no! she shall not. Although I am charged with ingratitude toward Josephine, I will have no imitators, especially among the persons whom she has honored with her confidence and loaded with her favors.'

"Josephine gives the following account of a subsequent interview with Napoleon at Malmaison. "I was one day painting a violet, a flower which recalled to my memory my more happy days, when one of my women ran toward me and made a sign, by placing her finger upon her lips. The next moment I was overpowered. I beheld Napoleon. He threw himself with transport into the arms of his old friend. Oh! then I was convinced that he could still love me; for that man really loved me. It seemed impossible for him to cease gazing upon me; and his look was that of the most tender affection. At length, in a tone of the deepest compassion and love, he said, 'My dear Josephine! I have always loved you—I love you still. Do you still love me, excellent and good Josephine? Do you still love me, in spite of the relations I have contracted, and which have separated me from you? But they have not banished *you* from my memory.' 'Sire!' said I. 'Call me Bonaparte,' said he; 'speak to me, my beloved, with the same freedom, the same familiarity as ever.' Bonaparte soon disappeared, and I heard only the sound of his retiring footsteps. O! how quickly does everything take place upon earth. I had once more felt the pleasure of being loved.'"

"The repudiation of Josephine, strong as were the political motives which led to it, is the darkest stain upon the character of Napoleon. And, like all wrong-doing, however seemingly prosperous for a time, it promoted final disaster and woe. A pique, originating in his second marriage, alienated Alexander of Russia from the French Emperor, and hence the campaign of Moscow, and the imprisonment of Napoleon upon the rock of St. Helena."

NOTES, Explanatory and Practical, of the General Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude. By Albert Barnes. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The excellent author of this work has a European as well as an American reputation. It is stated that nearly 80,000 of his Notes on the Gospels and the Epistles have been sold since their first publication. This volume is printed in a neat, convenient form, and, besides a general introduction to the Epistles, discussing the antiquity and reason of the term Catholic applied to the Epistles, and their canonical authority, it contains an instructive introduction to each Epistle, treating of its authorship, its address, the time and place of its production, its canonical authority, &c.

It is superfluous for us to say a single word in commendation of such a book from such an author.

THE WATER CURE JOURNAL, and Herald of Reforms, &c. Joel Chew, M. D., Editor. Vol. vi, No. 1. New York: Fowler & Wells.

This journal is published monthly, containing 32 pages, at $1 a year, or ten copies for $5. The number before us contains much that is interesting, something dogmatical, something visionary. These reform dietetic and medical journals, on the whole, do good, we think, by attracting the attention of the People to the laws of health, and the necessity of avoiding bad habits of living and eating. But it is marvellous on how small a capital of facts some of them do business. The editor of this Water Cure Journal, in the course of some Hints on Sleep, asks in what sense is an hour's sleep before midnight worth two after it? He answers the question by telling his readers that the birds cease their singing as the sun goes down; the sheep and the deer go to their resting place early, and throughout nature quietness and repose are the order of the night. Hence it is natural, &c. Some birds keep awake all night. Darkness is the time when beasts of prey roam to and fro. Wind and water are just as busy after the sun sets as after it rises. This talk about its being natural to go to sleep when hens go to roost is all nonsense. People sleep o'nights, because it is more convenient to transact business by daylight. And as to the time of sleeping, that is of very little importance. Let the sleep be long enough and the habit regular, and it is no matter whether it be before or after midnight. Sailors are as robust as any set of men living, but a large portion of their sleeping is done regularly in the daytime.

HOLDEN'S DOLLAR MAGAZINE. New York: Charles W. Holden. July, 1848.

This is certainly one of the cheapest magazines we know anything about. The number for July contains 52 closely printed pages, twenty-eight engravings, and the articles are stated to be all original. They are descriptive, historical, biographical, sentimental, &c. We notice translations of stories from the French, and a series in course of publication of Pulpit Portraits, or sketches of distinguished preachers.

GRAHAM'S AMERICAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE. July, 1848. Philadelphia.

This is a valuable number of Graham's, enriched with contributions from many of our best writers. "Going to Heaven," by T. S. Arthur, is in his best vein, and shows the philosophy of the matter. "A Night on the Ice," by Solitaire, will be called a "thrilling" story. F. J. Grund furnishes an excellent, spirited memoir of De Lamartine. "Rising in the World" is satirical and lively, showing how wealth can't exactly substitute brains. Longfellow contributes the following:

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT.

(When the wind abated and the vessels were near enough, the Admiral was seen constantly sitting in the stern, with a book in his hand. On the 9th of September he was seen for the last time, and was heard by the people of the Hind to say, "We are as near heaven by sea as by land." In the following night, the lights of the ship suddenly disappeared. The people in the other vessel kept a good lookout for him during the remainder of the voyage. On the 22d of September they arrived, through much tempest and peril, at Falmouth. But nothing more was seen or heard of the Admiral. *Belknap's American Biography*, I, 203.)

Southward with his fleet of ice
Sailed the Corsair Death;
Wild and fast, blew the blast,
And the east-wind was his breath.

His lordly ships of ice
Glistened in the sun;
On each side, like pennons wide,
Flashing crystal streamlets run.

His sails of white sea-mist
Dripped with silver rain;
But where he passed there were cast
Leaden shadows o'er the main.

Eastward from Campobello
Sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed;
Three days or more seaward he bore,
Then, alas! the land wind failed.

Alas! the land wind failed,
And ice-cold grew the night;
And never more, on sea or shore,
Should Sir Humphrey see the light.

He sat upon the deck,
The book was in his hand;
"Do not fear! Heaven is as near,"
He said, "by water as by land!"

In the first watch of the night,
Without a signal's sound,
Out of the sea, mysteriously,
The fleet of Death rose all around.

The moon and the evening star
Were hanging in the shrouds;
Every mast, as it passed,
Seemed to rake the passing clouds.

They grappled with their prize,
At midnight black and cold!
As of a rock was the shock;
Heavily the ground-swell rolled.

Southward through day and dark,
They drift in close embrace;
With mist and rain to the Spanish main;
Yet there seems no change of place.

Southward, forever southward,
They drift through dark and day;
And like a dream, in the Gulf Stream
Sinking, vanish all away.

SEARS'S NEW PICTORIAL MAGAZINE. Nos. 6, 7. New York: Robert Sears.

These numbers are very entertaining, and contain some fourteen embellishments.

VIEWS OF ASTRONOMY. Seven Lectures. By J. C. Nichol, L. L. D.

POPULAR LECTURES ON ASTRONOMY, by M. Arago. With Additions and Corrections, by Dionysius Lardner, L. L. D.

SIX LECTURES ON ASTRONOMY. By Professor O. M. Mitchell.

New York: Greeley & McElrath. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

All these are excellent publications for the People, in a cheap form. Arago's Lectures have passed through three editions. Dr. Nichol's Lectures excited great interest during their delivery. Professor Mitchell is the most pleasing lecturer on astronomical science we have ever listened to. All these lectures are specially addressed to the popular understanding. Each work may be had for twenty-five cents, and be received through the mail.

CHESS FOR WINTER EVENINGS. By H. R. Agnel. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by W. M. Morrison, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington.

This volume is published in Appleton's best style. It contains the rudiments of the game, elementary analyses of the most popular openings, a series of interesting Chess Tales, with illustrations, &c., &c.

APPLETON'S RAILROAD AND STEAMBOAT COMPANION. By W. Williams. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale as above.

This is a trustworthy guide for travellers through the United States, Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. Convenient maps are included, of the various routes, thirty in number, engraved on steel. It is also embellished by twenty-six engravings. The routes, distances, and fares, are laid down, with distances.

NEW ENGLAND OFFERING. Written by Females who are or have been Factory Operatives. Harriet Farley, Editor. Lowell: T. W. Harris.

The June number of the offering is a good one. One of the operatives, who has wandered away to the "Far West," gives quite an amusing account of her first day's enactment of the schoolmistress, in Looking-glass Prairie, Illinois—a prairie, by the way, with natural beauty enough to compensate for the lack of grace in all its little bipods.

A SCHOOLMISTRESS'S FIRST DAY.

"Enter! and what have we here? A small room, bounded by four walls of rough logs, badly 'chinked,' with a floor whose wide interstices look ominous of lost slate-pencils, books, and pens—to say nothing of our foolish apprehensions of snaky heads, which *may* peep up through the gaping boards; a square aperture, where a window *might be*, and three or four long, unplaned benches. On the highest of the latter is perched a little white-headed boy, whose unshod feet depend from his wide, blue trowsers, vainly seeking a resting-place on the floor below. A tall, red-haired girl is opposite him, and with sundry sunburnt lads and lasses, among whom are interspersed some fair and intelligent faces, the human furniture is complete. No; here are the 'committee-men,' each with a little black-eyed boy in his hand, come to consult with us on the prosecution of our new occupation. Ah! those committee-men! why did they come before we had made acquaintance with that row of sharp, eager eyes, or got the 'hang of the school-house?' How can a tyro endure their criticism? We will elude it, and pass the time in jokingly devising 'ways and means' until our Mentors must return to their ploughs.

"They are gone; and our juvenile *corps* is marshalled into something like acting order; though nothing can induce the white-headed boy to descend from his perch. He says he'd 'a heap rather sit with the big fellers.' To the inquiry, 'What is your name?' He replies, 'Bub.' This seeming to us an ambiguous appellation, we appeal to the urchin at his side—'Do you know this little boy's name?'

"'I reckon it's Bub; aint it, Bub?' he answers, with a frightened look. A voice from the opposite bench solves the mystery. 'It's my cousin; his name is *Jeames*; we jist call him Bub, *for short.*'

"Now comes the muster of reading-books. One has brought an 'English Reader,' another a 'National,' another an 'Eclectic,' and the 'golden-tressed' young lady, the second volume of a novel, in which she '*allows*' she can learn to pronounce the hard words as well as in anything else. Such a 'power' of books, and no two alike. It is dismaying. At length we commence operations by endeavoring to hear little roguish-eyed 'Johnny' say his letters. 'Tis a novel task; but the memory of the good dame whose instructions enlightened our infancy, assists us.

"What's that letter, Johnny?"

"Dat's A, I reckon."

"And that?"

"What! dat little felly down yonder? Dat's J, aint it?"

"Our gravity is in great danger of a capsize; and, to increase its peril, a three-year-old urchin, whose age will account for his strange syntax, looks up, and with a *very* serious face remarks, 'Miss, *I hope school will quit commencing before it gets very long.*' A sentiment with which we entirely sympathize, when we have by a mental process decided its meaning.

"We proceed to arrange the larger pupils into classes; but what a task! In geography, Smith, Olney, Worcester, and Mitchell, each presents a world-established claim. In grammar, Murray, Smith, and Kirkham, are disjunctively imperative and absolute; and in arithmetic the multiplication of authors overpowers us. In despair at ever bringing order out of this chaos of science, we manage, we know not how, until noon, when the happy children caper about in rejoicing freedom among the dinner-baskets.

"'Is *them* Ingin rubbers?' asks a girl, turning the overshoes about as carefully as if they were made of gold. 'I've heard on 'em, but I never *seen* any before.'

"'Let's go out and play,' says another.

"'No. *Pap and mother* said I shouldn't go out in the sun to get the *ager.*'

"'Oh! the mistress says it's time to *take up* school!'

"'Do you *allow* for us to write this evening?' This presents another difficulty. There is no desk or table; but the art of penmanship must be taught, since it was 'so nominated in the bond.' The ready invention of the children supplies a way. The high bench which 'Jeames' had chosen is placed behind a lower one, and serves the purpose of a desk.

"The spelling class next requires attention. Delightful; every child *has* a Webster's Spelling-Book. But one or two have disappeared between the boards, and the entrance to the lower regions is raised by two stout girls, revealing the missing volumes, together with the dead carcass of a rabbit, several rat-holes, bits of earthenware, paper-rags, and so forth. It is again closed; but, before the first word is fairly spelled, the tramp of cloven hoofs is heard; a horned head is thrust peeringly in at the possibility of a window; at the same moment a timid 'baa—baa' echoes over the prairie, and a crowd of very *sheep*ish-looking spectators surround the door. 'Shoo!' cries the young gentleman who wishes school to 'quit commencing,' involuntarily leaping from his seat and, with one bound, our visiters are gone."

THIRTIETH CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION.

Our Congressional record was interrupted last week, owing to the sudden pressure of important articles demanding immediate publication.

JUNE 27.

SENATE.—A memorial of Miss Dix, for an appropriation for the indigent insane, was referred to a select committee, consisting of Messrs. Dix, Benton, Bell, Hannegan, and Davis of Massachusetts.

A bill reported by Mr. Niles, to aid Mr. Whitney in the construction of a railroad to the Pacific, was referred to a select committee, consisting of Messrs. Niles, Corwin, Lewis, Dix, and Felch.

The Oregon bill coming up, Mr. Bright felt it his duty to lay before the Senate a proposition for peace and harmony, as follows:

"*And be it further enacted*, That in all the Territories owned by the United States, including Oregon, New Mexico, and Upper California, which lie north of 36 deg. 30 min. North latitude, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited: *Provided, always*, That any person escaping into the same, whose labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or services aforesaid."

In submitting this amendment, Mr. Bright said that at a former day, to allay discussion, he had moved to strike out the 12th section—it did not produce the desired effect, and he withdrew it—the gentleman from Georgia renewed it, and this had led to much discussion.

Judge Berrien replied, that the 12th section was put in the bill by the Committee. Had the Senator from Indiana persisted in his motion, there would have been no excitement. The fault lay at the door of that gentleman.

Mr. Bright, being thus censured, meekly disclaimed any design of censuring the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. Calhoun then addressed the Senate at length, urging his peculiar views in relation to slavery. The subject was postponed, Mr. Berrien having obtained the floor.

The Post Office Appropriation bill was passed, and the Senate went into Executive session.

☞ The following is the vote on Mr. Hale's resolution of the 24th ult., to instruct the Committee on the District of Columbia to report a bill for the abolition of slavery in the District:

YEAS—Messrs. Baldwin, Clarke, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Hale, Miller, Upham—7.

NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Atchison, Atherton, Bell, Berrien, Borland, Bradbury, Breese, Bright, Butler, Calhoun, Davis of Mississippi, Dickinson, Dix, Dodge, Downs, Felch, Fitzgerald, Foote, Hamlin, Houston, Hunter, Johnson of Maryland, Johnson of Louisiana, Johnson of Georgia, Lewis, Mangum, Mason, Niles, Rusk, Spruance, Sturgeon, Turney, Underwood, Westcott, Yulee—36.

It is understood that two other Senators, if present, would have voted in the affirmative.

HOUSE.—After the transaction of unimportant business, the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union on the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, Mr. Root in the chair. Mr. Thompson, of Pennsylvania, made an electioneering speech. Mr. Rockwell, of Massachusetts, discussed the power of Congress over Territories, and avowed his intention to support General Taylor. Mr. Thompson, of Mississippi, read an argument against the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in Territories. Mr. Brady, of Pennsylvania, made an electioneering speech. The Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

JUNE 28.

SENATE.—The Oregon bill was taken up, and Mr. Berrien addressed the Senate in support of slavery and its claims. Mr. Underwood, of Kentucky, then offered a few remarks touching an amendment he desired to offer to that submitted by Mr. Bright, the effect of which was a proviso to allow all persons who choose to migrate to the newly acquired territory south of 36 deg. 30 min., to take any species of property they please, and be guarantied in the possession thereof, according to the laws of the States they may have left.

The subject was laid over, Mr. Phelps having the floor, and the Senate went into Executive session.

HOUSE.—Some time was wasted, growing out of an electioneering resolution, calling upon the President for information in regard to the amount of extra compensation to Lewis Cass, while in the service of the United States. Of course amendments were moved, calling for similar information in relation to General Taylor, but objection was made.

The Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill being taken up in Committee of the Whole, Mr. Holmes, of South Carolina, occupied his hour in an anti-Polk, pro-Calhoun, Taylor speech Mr. Sims, of the same State, replied, vindicating the Administration against the charges of his colleague. The Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

The proceedings on the 29th and 30th were reported last week.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, JULY 13, 1848.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Owing to the necessity from time to time of publishing some of the important speeches delivered in Congress, and also of devoting much space to recent movements of the People, growing out of the obnoxious policy of the two old parties, we have been greatly puzzled to know what to do with many excellent communications. Now and then we find room for some, not superior in merit to others on hand, but not so suitable for keeping. Among others which we shall soon try to make room for, is one from Judge Hutchinson, of Vermont, several from Mr. Davis, of Maine; one from a "Northern Whig," on the claims of General Taylor; another from T. A. Cheney, "one of the tolling millions;" another from Isaac Julian; another from "Vernon," and so on.

☞ With pleasure we publish the following card. We were led into error by one of the telegraphic despatches received here. We deeply regret that by any word of ours injustice should have been done to Mr. Sherman.—*Ed. Era.*

MANSFIELD, OHIO, *June* 20, 1848.

DEAR SIR: I see that you have fallen into an error in your paper of the 15th instant, in regard to the action of Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, on the resolution offered by Mr. Tilden, of Ohio, in the Whig National Convention, in favor of Free Labor on Free Soil. You, in your editorial, speak of Mr. Sherman as having "meanly backed out; got up and deprecated the introduction of the resolution." By looking over the proceedings of the Convention, you will perceive that you have entirely mistaken the action of Mr. Sherman. His remarks were made upon a resolution to approve, unanimously, the nomination of General Taylor; and when this resolution was withdrawn, he gave way to Mr. Tilden to introduce his resolution, and voted for it, and is warmly in favor of the principle it proclaims. Instead of Mr. Sherman's backing out, he acted with the Ohio delegation in all their efforts in favor of committing the Convention to opposition to the extension of slave territory. JUSTICE.

DR. BAILEY.

☞ We are under obligation to the Commissioner of Patents for his Report for the year 1847. It is one of the most valuable public documents we have seen. In another number we intend to notice it particularly.

☞ Mr. George W. Light, Boston, Mass., is duly authorized to receive subscriptions and moneys for the National Era.

CROWDED.—Numerous communications are unavoidably crowded out, for the sake of crowding in the important matters relating to the great Free Territory movement. The reader will see, too, that, for the purpose of giving him all the information we can, we have dealt liberally in *nonpareil* type, which embodies nearly twice as much as brevier, and also trespassed on our advertisers, pushing them all out. Of course, all this costs us a great deal, but we trust to the liberality of our subscribers to pay us by increasing our list.

THE OREGON QUESTION.—Next week, we shall commence the publication of the report of proceedings on the Oregon question, and continue it till closed, selecting such speeches on both sides as shall present a full, all-sided view of the subject.

UNION OF THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM—THE OBSTACLE.

The supporters—we will not say *friends*—of Slavery are united, and by their union they have succeeded in obtaining the control of the old political organizations, forcing them to set up candidates who fully represent pro-slavery sentiments and interests. Union among the friends of Freedom is an object of vast importance, for, until this be accomplished, it will be impossible to arrest the aggressions of the Slave Power, and make the non-slaveholding interest predominant in the Federal Government. On the altar of such a union cheerfully would we lay all prejudices, party attachments, personal preferences. But we fear, greatly fear, that such a consummation, however devoutly to be wished and earnestly labored for, cannot be brought about so as to control the coming Presidential election.

The Free Territory men have not acted with sufficient concert. Their great Conventions should have been preceded by full correspondence, and the fixed resolve to avoid all embarrassing committalism should have been rigidly adhered to.

With the utmost respect for the radical Democracy of New York, admiring the steadfast conduct of their representatives, sympathizing with them in their general views of public policy, and earnestly desirous that they may obtain the political ascendency in their great State, we cannot but regret that the Utica Convention did not take the lead in calling the Buffalo meeting, restricting itself merely to the *recommendation* of Mr. Van Buren as a candidate. It took no counsel with dissentients from other parties, prepared to act upon the great issue on which its constituents had determined to go into the ensuing election. Its action was not shaped or modified in reference to them, in any degree. It acted simply for Free Territory Democrats, selected a purely Democratic ticket, and indicated no desire for a general, harmonious coöperation of the friends of Liberty, beyond the pale of Democracy.

Perhaps this may have been the wisest policy. The movement, although it may not be successful now in defeating both the pro-slavery parties, may result in the reorganization of the Democratic party upon the anti-slavery basis, as laid down by the authors of the Declaration of Independence, the Congress which framed the ordinance of 1787, and the founders of the Government which fully sanctioned it. But, whatever the result in this respect, one thing is certain—the strictly party character which has been stamped upon the movement separates it from the more general movement of men of all parties, and of no party, which is to find its exponent in the Buffalo Convention of August 9th. We cannot predict what that Convention will do, but doubtless it will feel some embarrassment from the New York nomination.

Many may be strongly inclined to waive, under the urgent circumstances, all formalities, and adopt that nomination. Should they succeed, the local movement would become nationalized, and it might sweep the non-slaveholding States. On the contrary, some, perhaps many, though anxious for union, and willing to pass over all matters of mere form, will resist the adoption of that nomination, for reasons which we shall now proceed to state.

Many of us, who have long been laboring to arouse the public mind to resist the aggressions of Slavery, rejoice at the indications that the hour for effective resistance draws near. Not a word would we say tending to discourage the zeal of our friends, or to create division. We have no resentments to gratify, no prejudices to struggle against, no party attachments powerful enough to impose the slightest restraint upon us, no personal preferences to urge. We are willing to identify ourselves in any general movement, on any distinct issue that may be made up with the Slave Power, *provided* the movement be regarded as progressive, to the extent of the Federal Constitution, and do not involve us in voting against what we hold to be vital principle. We cannot sustain the action of the Convention, we cannot support its nominees, if committed against such principle. We do not ask the sanction of either to all that we hold to be important truths, but we do ask that they refrain from placing themselves in a position where, to sustain them, would be to stultify ourselves.

The letter of Mr. Van Buren was admirable for its style, general sentiments, and spirit. His position of avowed, direct antagonism to the extension of Slavery, on the ground of its inherent evil, is just, noble, and patriotic. It is the more honorable, because, with the single exception of Judge MCLEAN, he is the only one of the first class of old party leaders who has the courage to occupy such a position. With these men, subserviency to Slavery is the rule, so that independence appears the more heroic.

Nor do we feel at liberty to impute this movement of Mr. Van Buren to mere resentment against the South. Such is the imputation by which it was sought to paralyze the influence of Mr. Adams; and such will be the device resorted to, whenever any public man shall break from his neck the yoke of slavery. We are unwilling to admit that politicians are incapable of doing right from honorable motives. The course of Mr. Van Buren on the Texas question, four years ago, could not have been dictated by pique against the South. Indeed, it is difficult to regard his conduct then in any other light than as the offspring of just sentiments. Since then, he has betrayed no disposition to reënter political life, or seek again its honors. Most assiduously has he avoided all occasions or pretexts which could keep him before the public, or his name in remembrance. His recent avowal of approbation of the course of his political friends in New York was just what might have been expected from an honorable man. He was identified with them in sympathy and opinion, and he would have stood revealed as a traitor to his principles and his friends, had he deserted them. His course in relation to slavery-extension is not variant, that we know of, from any act of his life, and is certainly in keeping with his policy on the question of Texas annexation. While we may admit, therefore, that the conduct of slaveholders towards him may have enabled him to appreciate more clearly their exacting spirit, and predisposed him to resistance, we cannot believe that herein is to be found the real cause of his present position. Indeed, in what to us is the objectionable part of his letter, we think we see evidence of honesty, though not enlightened judgment. We mean that part in which he sustains his policy in 1836, in relation to the agitation of Slavery. If he did not believe himself honest in his policy then, it is difficult to see any satisfactory reason for refreshing the memory of the public concerning it now. He must have known that such a reminiscence could avail him nothing at the South, and was certainly calculated to do him injury at the North.

Having said this much to show our respect for Mr. Van Buren, and our admiration for his present position, we now shall frankly indicate the nature and bearings of the objectionable portion of his letter, and the insuperable obstacles it raises to his support by many who, like ourselves, would rejoice to see him utterly rout both the old party candidates. The following paragraph contains the substance of what we object to:

"The power, [to prohibit slavery in Territories,] the existence of which is at this late day denied, is, in my opinion, fully granted to Congress by the Constitution. Its language, the circumstances under which it was adopted, the recorded explanations which accompanied its formation, the construction it has received from our highest judicial tribunals, and the very solemn and repeated confirmations it has derived from the measures of the Government, leave not a shadow of a doubt in my mind in regard to the authority of Congress to exercise the power in question. This is not a new opinion on my part, nor the first occasion on which it has been avowed. While the candidate of my friends for the Presidency, I distinctly announced my opinion in favor of the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, *although I was, for reasons which were then and still are satisfactory to my mind, very decidedly opposed to its exercise there.* The question of power is certainly as clear in respect to the Territories as it is in regard to that District; and, as to the Territories, my opinion was also made known in a still more solemn form, by giving the Executive approval required by the Constitution to the bill for the organization of the Territorial Government of Iowa, which prohibited the introduction of slavery into that Territory."

We call attention to the lines we have placed in italics. Mr. Van Buren, in 1835, pledged his veto, in advance, against any act which might pass both Houses of Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. His language, in the paragraph above quoted, admits of two constructions. He may mean that he was opposed to the abolition of such slavery *then*, for reasons which not only appeared satisfactory at that time, but which he now believes justified *then* such opposition. This construction, which is not the one that strikes us first, leaves it an open question, whether he believes such reasons would justify such a policy *now*. But the most natural construction certainly is, that the reasons which satisfied him in 1836, that he did right to pledge himself in advance to veto any bill for the abolition of slavery in the District, are just as conclusive with him in relation to the policy *now* to be pursued. Supposing this to be the meaning of Mr. Van Buren, we see not how, regarding an opposite policy as binding upon those who have legislative power over this District, we could give our vote to him without being guilty of an inexcusable inconsistency. Holding, with him, that Congress has power over the subject, we can see no reasons that should prevent its exercise, in such a way that the rights of all classes should be respected. We have no hesitation in saying that Congress ought to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and wherever else it has exclusive jurisdiction, making ample appropriation of money at the same time to carry out the purpose of the act, so that those who had been encouraged and sustained by its unjust legislation to hold or accumulate what is termed property in human beings, might not be obliged to bear the whole burden of undoing a wrong.

Again: it seems that the peculiar policy of Mr. Van Buren on the slavery question, in 1836, was adopted by him under the impression that the *rights* of the South were in danger. What is his impression now? Which are in danger now, the rights of the South or the interests of Liberty? What would be his policy now?

As to the casting vote of Mr. Van Buren, while President of the Senate, in favor of the bill virtually establishing a censorship over the Post Offices, we do not attach so much importance to that. It was given merely to secure the second reading of the bill, and, we suppose, from what we learned from that noble champion of freedom in the Senate, Thomas Morris, that it was an act purely of courtesy, and by no means an indication of what would have been his vote in the event of a tie on the question of a third reading.

No one can prize a general coöperation of the friends of free soil and free labor more than we do—none has labored more earnestly for it—but we see little good, and much evil, in a union which, while designed to make more effectual a progressive reform movement, subjects it to bondage to the very iniquity against whose aggressions it is directed. We seek no Federal interference with the rights of the States to regulate their own institutions, adjust the relations of their own people, impose upon them such laws, as they please; but we hope Mr. Van Buren may see fit to define his position upon this subject of slavery, as one of antagonism to its demands, to the full extent of his constitutional powers.

THE PROPOSED SETTLEMENT.

Last winter, in commenting upon the causes which delayed and finally defeated the Oregon bill, we indicated the probability that it would be kept an open question by Southern Senators, for the purpose of making it the grand element of another Compromise. In commenting, last spring, upon the extravagant pretensions of the Charleston Mercury, and other prints of its class, we avowed the suspicion that these pretensions were pitched to an extreme height, so as to allow room for an apparent compromise, in which, while really yielding nothing, they might seem to be conceding at least one-half of their claim.

The struggle of Mr. Calhoun and his friends to delay the passage of the Oregon bill, the yielding of Mr. Bright, and his proposition to adjust the question of slavery in the Territories upon the basis of the Missouri compromise, show that our suspicions were well grounded. This movement is started in the Senate by Mr. Bright, but who believes that he is the author of it? It would not do for Southern Senators, who have been making so vehement protestations in support of their extreme claims, to originate such a measure; and it is well known that there are Northern men always on hand to fulfil their behests. This proposition is undoubtedly a Slaveholding measure. It is the favorite policy of the Administration, and that Executive influences will be brought to bear in securing support to it in both Houses, who can doubt? Already there are plain avowals from slaveholding members of their willingness to agree upon this compromise; and we are confident that it will be accepted most gladly by nearly every member from the South. The great work will be to win or buy over Northern votes enough to carry it.

In what shameful contradiction will such a compromise involve all parties! The Calhoun men assert that Congress has no right to legislate upon the subject of slavery, or to exclude slavery from any portion of United States territory. What will be thought of their sincerity, should they sustain Congressional legislation on this very subject, so far as to exclude slavery from all territory between 36 deg. 30 min. and 49 deg.—an extent of country ranging through 12½ deg. of latitude? The Cass men, taking the letter of their standard-bearer as their creed, are committed, of course, to the doctrine contained in the following extract from that letter:

"Briefly, then, I am opposed to the exercise of any jurisdiction by Congress over this matter; and I am in favor of leaving to the people of any territory which may be hereafter acquired, the right to regulate it for themselves, under the general principles of the Constitution; because—

"1. I do not see in the Constitution any grant of the requisite power to Congress; and I am not disposed to extend a doubtful precedent beyond its necessity, (the establishment of Territorial Governments when needed,) leaving to the inhabitants all the rights compatible with the relations they bear to the Confederation."

And yet Mr. Bright, one of the right-hand men of the author of this letter, proposes that Congress shall take jurisdiction over the whole subject, making freedom the fundamental law of all the territory north of 36 deg. 30 min., and indirectly authorizing the introduction of slavery into all below that latitude; and this, without any regard whatever to the *right of the people* to regulate the subject for themselves, so positively asserted by Gen. Cass!

In other words, both these factions will unite in violating the Constitution! outraging the rights of slaveholders! outraging the rights of the people of the Territory! and contradicting themselves point blank!

If they agree to this compromise, we shall see how much credit is to be attached to their professed constitutional views.

But would such a compromise stand? Would it not merely protract and aggravate and render more dangerous the discord now becoming prevalent? Undoubtedly. The act would possess no more sacredness than any other law of Congress. It might be repealed the very next year. That a continual effort would be made to repeal it, no intelligent man can doubt. The Missouri compromise was a very different matter. Slavery was the law of all the Louisiana territory when acquired. The Missouri compromise was in fact an act for its abolition in all that part of the territory lying north of 36 deg. 30 min. Freedom is now the law of Oregon, California, and New Mexico. Bright's compromise, if adopted, would be an act for the *abolition of freedom* in all that range of these territories lying south of 36 deg. 30 min. That is the difference. Would not the People see it? Could you persuade the non-slaveholding citizens that they had gained anything by an act for the abolition of Liberty?

Besides, 1848 is not 1820. The world is just twenty-eight years older. In that period there has been a vast advance of the sentiment of the world in opposition to Slavery. Its manifold evils are far more clearly and generally understood. Great Britain, France, and other European Powers, have abolished the system. Portugal, even Turkey and Russia, are moving in the same great work. The discussion of the subject in this country has become general and thorough. The agitation of it is systematized, and can never sleep again. The nucleus of a party in favor of Human Liberty is already organized, and is destined to receive constant accessions. So that the expectation that the compromise, compared with which the Missouri compromise is an act of justice—a compromise by which Freedom is to be abolished in a vast extent of free territory—will bring a peaceful settlement of the great Question, is utterly delusive.

No; let us have a just, honorable, constitutional settlement, on the principle that this Union was formed to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, and secure the blessings of *Liberty* to ourselves and our posterity. This only can be permanent.

ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS—WHY UNDECIDED.

A joint resolution passed the House in June, to adjourn Congress on the 17th of July. On the 22d of June, it was taken up in the Senate, and gave rise to a long debate. Several times since then it has been under discussion, but the opposition to the policy of setting a day for adjournment has been strong enough to prevent any decision. What is the difficulty? what the secret of this vehement opposition? From the mere skeleton record published in the newspapers, no opinion can be formed; but, no intelligent looker-on in the Senate need be in the dark.

"I am extremely anxious to return home," said Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, in the first debate on the subject—"but there is business here which requires to be disposed of. *There are many matters here which I desire should be disposed of before the Presidential election. I wish to have a very clear prospect before me before I vote, or recommend my constituents to vote one way or the other. I do not wish the canvass to be conducted in the dark.*"

Mr. Foote, of Mississippi, strenuously opposed the attempt to fix a day for adjournment, assigning as his chief reasons the following:

"There is at least one measure, before the adoption of which, Congress, in my judgment, should never consent to adjourn. I allude to the organization of Territorial Governments in Oregon, California, and New Mexico. I know that there are questions of peculiar delicacy and importance involved in the contemplated establishment of Territorial Governments in the regions named; but I am only the more desirous, on that account, that they should be boldly met and promptly decided. *If these questions remain open during the Presidential contest, it is impossible to conjecture what consequences may arise. The intense excitement now raging in two opposite quarters of the Confederacy, and every day growing more and more intense, may put at hazard the Union itself, and will certainly call into being two sectional factions, divided by a mere geographical line, which will never cease to war upon each other as long as the Union shall continue. I regard the present as far the most auspicious period which will ever occur for obviating this great danger, and once more restoring fraternal amity and concord.*

"Besides, sir, I am willing to confess that I am not a little desirous of ascertaining, ere Congress shall adjourn, of what precise materiel the Whig party is composed—whether that party, if it can reach the seats of authority once more, will be inclined to enforce its ancient views of governmental policy, or will be content, as has been promised by certain leading gentlemen of that party, to permit the policy of the present Administration to remain undisturbed. There is still another point upon which I desire to obtain a more satisfactory explanation than has heretofore been given. *Will General Taylor, if elected, be willing to use the veto power against the Wilmot Proviso?*"

Yesterday week, the debate was resumed. Mr. Butler again expressed the opinion, in most decided terms, that no time ought to be fixed for adjournment till the great Territorial questions are disposed of; and that, if they were not settled now, at this session, they never would be. Mr. Downs, of Louisiana, rose in great excitement. It was absolutely necessary, he thought, to settle these great questions now. There were rumors of a Northern Convention at Buffalo, and of a Northern Congress—a sectional Party was in process of organization at the North. If Congress should adjourn, leaving these questions open, he could tell gentlemen, that the South would not submit to these hostile demonstrations—there would be a Southern Convention, and a Southern Congress. He deprecated the attempt to fix a day for adjournment, and invoked Congress to place itself as a barrier in defence of the rights of the South.

Then commenced the voting. There were motions to adjourn, to lay upon the table, to postpone the consideration of the resolution for two weeks, then for a week, to substitute the 14th of August for the 31st of July, &c. But all these motions were rejected, the yeas and nays being called upon every one. Then arose Mr. Johnson, of Georgia. He seemed to think it high time to touch his Northern political friends in a tender point. Who had the control of the question, in the Senate? he exclaimed. The Democratic Senators. His constituents had their eye on this movement in the Senate. They knew that to fix a day for adjournment was to allow an opportunity to all who wished to evade or postpone these great questions, so vital to the peace of the South, to prolong the discussion, talk against time, and so defeat all action this session. He referred to the votes of the political and personal friends of General Cass in the Senate, which had been uniformly cast in favor of appointing an early day for adjournment. These votes, he announced, would be noted, and he hinted very plainly that a construction would be put upon them in the South, and an inference drawn from them concerning the policy of General Cass, by no means favorable to the Democratic party! This was an arrow which pierced between the joints of the harness. The Cass men from the free States betrayed a sudden trepidation; but it would not do, while the sound of the lash was yet ringing in their ears, to back out. So, when the question was taken, shall the resolution be amended by substituting the 31st for the 17th of July, they boldly voted, *yea*. But, their stock of valor was now well nigh exhausted. The threat of Mr. Johnson, of Georgia, was not forgotten. Mr. Bright rose and said, that, as they had now got the resolution in the shape that was desirable, and by adopting the amendment had indicated the time when they thought they ought to adjourn, provided they could dispose of all important business, they were willing *to let it lie on the table* for a little while, to see what progress might be made! He would therefore move to lay it upon the table! The motion was carried, Messrs. Bright, Breese, Dickinson, Fitzgerald, Sturgeon, Dodge, and Felch, voting in the affirmative. The Senate forthwith adjourned amidst the unconcealed rejoicings of Messrs. Calhoun, Butler, and Downs, who, from appearances, were congratulating each other upon their triumph.

Is the reader any longer in doubt? The reason why no time is suffered to be set for adjournment in the Senate is, that the champions of slavery *are determined to force a settlement of the Territorial questions by means of the Presidential question*, sagaciously judging that they can extort more favorable terms from the friends of a President *expectant*, than a President *elect*. To set a day for adjournment would be to allow the dodgers to defeat all action, and throw all these questions over till the next session, when they might be determined on just, constitutional principles, rather than by a calculation of Presidential chances.

For the National Era.

LIGHT AND SHADE.

BY WILLIAM H. C. HOSMER.

Unbar the gloomy portals of the Past—
How red the shroud round perished Empire cast!
Thick as the bearded grain by Labor mown
Lie bannered hosts in battle overthrown.
From cottage homes and thronging cities rise
Yells of expiring millions to the skies;
Ambition, pleased, bemocks their horrid groans,
And, shed with iron, treads on crumbling bones;
Tasked is the strength of thousands to upbuild
Colossal tombs with coffined grandeur filled.
The place of beast by manhood is supplied,
Whipped onward, harnessed to the car of Pride—
Foul Priestcraft, mantled in an ebon stole,
Abroad walks forth with blood upon his soul,
Clasps his polluted hands in Godless prayer
While tortures rend the sinews of Despair,
Or, with disdain in his relentless eye,
Exacts the *little all* of Misery.
Anointed Folly from his regal seat
Points to proud arch, or labyrinth of Crete,
As monuments to memorize his sway,
When kingdom, crown, and court, have passed away.
Renowned Apelles prostitutes his art
Esteem to wake within a tyrant's heart—
Wit wildly revels in the joys of sense,
And terror chains the tongue of Eloquence.
No voice, inspired, the cause of Justice pleads,
Or God invokes to punish evil deeds:
A venal harp the laureled Minstrel strings,
To flatter Pomp, and win applause from Kings;
And pensioned Learning false deduction draws,
To prove that Nero sanctions wholesome laws.
Here prowls unsparing Bigotry at work,
In her ensanguined hand a sheathless dirk—
Her deeds, too dreadful for the lyre to tell—
Her dooming eye, "a glimmering type of Hell."
There laughs the Lord who governs half the globe,
Wrapped in the foldings of his purple robe,
While bounds the famished lion from his den,
Matched in unequal strife with naked men,
And corpses cumber, half afloat in gore,
The broad arena's thickly sanded floor.

Another leaf in history is turned—
Another lesson have the nations learned;
Clouds, charged with moral lightning, sternly lower
Above the heartless satellites of power—
The Mother-land, by crime too long defiled,
Is taking healthful counsel from her child;
And, one by one, from her old bleeding heart
The greedy vultures of misrule depart.
One wild misnomer of the mournful past,
That led our sires astray, is changed at last;
Conquest, enthroned on heaps of slain up-piled,
Is re-baptized, and *Wholesale Murder* styled.
No common cause now hurries to the field
A Christian soldier, armed with spear and shield;
And Empires ponder patiently and long,
Before they war for some imagined wrong.
With grave rebuke Philosophy looks down
On that dread phantom, *National Renown*,
Whose star hath lighted millions to their graves,
And flooded groaning Earth with crimson waves.

Green Erin lifts her head above the Deep,
Roused from the torpor of her drunken sleep,
And tunes the harp of Tara to a lay
That breathes of joy, and darkness chased away.
Late through her isle a Demon strode unchecked,
Who laughed while round him were her children wrecked;
Of human skulls a hideous throne he made,
And Wo, Disease, and Death, his call obeyed—
In dungeon, churchyard, and on scaffold grim,
Courts, that make manhood blush, were held by him,
And Mars, astonished, flung way his lance,
Eclipsed in horror by Intemperance.
Now, from her fields a triumph cry goes up,
Indignant hands dash down the poisoned cup;
Away dark weed from Emmet's grave she clears,
A radiant smile is beaming through her tears,
And, while the brand of Cain her brow forsakes,
The withe that bound her limb, like Samson, breaks.

ELECTIONEERING IN CONGRESS.

Seven months of the session have elapsed. The most important business is yet unacted on. The bill to establish a Territorial Government in Oregon lingers in the Senate. The principal appropriation bills are yet undisposed of. The official copy of the treaty with Mexico having been laid before the Senate, it now becomes the duty of Congress to provide for the disposition and government of the immense territories acquired from that republic. And yet, notwithstanding this accumulation of all-important business, the spirit of partisanship is wasting the People's money, and the People's time, in miserable electioneering speeches in both Houses—speeches which, for the most part, would do absolute discredit to the stump. On a question of adjournment, some time since, in the Senate, there sprung up a debate between Mr. Foote, of Mississippi, and Mr. Mangum, of North Carolina, concerning the comparative merits of their respective candidates, Messrs. Cass and Taylor. The whole budget of stump appeals, stump arguments, stump clap-trap, was exhausted. One day the session was protracted in this elegant, Senatorial amusement, till five o'clock. Mr. Mangum himself occupied the best portion of two days. Last Wednesday the subject was resumed, Mr. Clayton, of Delaware, appearing on the stage, as the champion of Taylor, against Cass, expatiating at large upon the Alison letter, and then going back thirty years, to find out some antiquated, barbarous law of Indiana, to which General Cass had appended his signature. This gave rise to an inquiry into the laws of Michigan, of Vermont, and of Massachusetts, and a consideration, by Mr. Felch, of the legal policy of the new Territories of the Northwest, during the process of settlement! Mr. Foote again signalized himself by lauding the Democratic party and its candidate, and railing against all opponents. And in this enlightened, most edifying partisan gladiatorship, the time of the Senate was consumed till half past four o'clock. The whole debate, from beginning to end, was not only out of order, but undistinguished by ability or statesmanship, or even partisan dexterity.

One feature of it is worthy of special remark. The relations of the candidates to the Wilmot Proviso constituted, in fact, its chief topic. The great effort of Mr. Foote was, to show that the position of Cass upon that question was all that slaveholders could desire, while that of Taylor was at least doubtful, and calculated to excite distrust. His Whig opponent met him, by endeavoring to show that the views of the former on that question were by no means safe for the interests of slavery, while those of the latter, taken in connection with the fact that he was a large slaveholder, and identified with slavery, were entirely trustworthy. Stripped of all verbiage, the great question between them was, whether the extension of slavery into free territory, the abolition of Freedom in countries where Personal Liberty is now the fundamental law, would be more certainly secured by the election of General Taylor or that of General Cass—by the ascendency of the Taylor, or that of the Cass party! A sublime spectacle, to be exhibited by the Senate of the Model Republic, whose orators have just been mouthing about Liberty, and Equality, and Fraternity, all through the land. It did not seem to strike these pro-slavery gladiators, that there was any class of men in the country worthy of consideration, but slaveholders. No one appeared to dream that there are some twelve millions of free people living north of Mason and Dixon's line, whose feelings might possibly be offended by the successful efforts of these grave Senators to demonstrate both the candidates for whom their suffrages are demanded, hostile to *their* principles and interests. Think of it! That it should be deemed necessary, in an American Senate, in this age of the world, to prove, in the face of twenty millions of Republicans, that both the prominent candidates for the Presidential office, are in favor of the Abolition of Freedom, in territories to be settled by the descendants of those Republicans, and to be formed hereafter into some twenty States of this Union! Verily the American People are debased beyond all parallel, or these Senators have offered them an indignity which they will resent by rejecting such candidates, and sending into perpetual retirement partisans so dead to the spirit, so audaciously reckless of the sentiments, and even the decencies, of the age.

MR. HALE AND THE BUFFALO CONVENTION.

Many inquiries have been made respecting the views of Mr. Hale in relation to the Buffalo Convention. We are authorized to state that, personally, he would be pleased to see such a state of things as would justify him in the opinion of his friends in withdrawing his name from the canvass, but he will not do so without the concurrence of his friends in the measure. He is anxious that Liberty men should attend the Buffalo meeting, if their judgment dictate such a step, and aid, by their counsel and presence, to such a course as shall unite on a proper basis all the opponents of Slavery and Slavery Extension.

BARBAROUS.

Some of our readers may have seen in the newspapers a brief report of a trial in Wilmington, Delaware, of two respectable citizens of that place, on a charge of harboring several fugitives from service, which resulted in their conviction, and punishment by fine to the amount of $7,900. They were tried under United States law, before Justice TANEY, by whom the law was interpreted so as to favor strongly the claims of the plaintiff. The case, as stated in a letter from Thomas Garrett, a venerable member of the Society of Friends, and one of the defendants, is an extremely hard one:

WILMINGTON, *6th month 7th*, 1848.

* * * * * * * *

The facts of the case were these: A free colored man, his wife, and six children, from one to sixteen years of age, arrived at John Hunn's house, in the 12th month, 1845, after sunrise; being tired, John suffered them to rest through the day. In the evening, a number of his neighbors went to the house, and found those poor creatures there. They were taken from there before a magistrate, at Middletown, and committed to Newcastle jail. A member of the sheriff's family wrote to a friend of mine, that a family of colored persons had been put in jail that morning, and she verily believed that most of them were free. I went over to Newcastle, and took John Wales, an attorney, with me. The man and wife assured us that themselves and the four youngest children were free; that they had been living together on a rented property for ten or twelve years; had fed and clothed the children at their own expense, till they left, but admitted that the two eldest boys belonged to one *Glanden*, who had at one time, owned their mother. They were all taken by habeas corpus before Judge Booth, who believed the statement of the parents, that the mother and four children were free, (the husband had the evidence of his freedom with him.) As their commitments were all defective, the Judge released them all. The day was wet, one of the children was lame with white-swelling, and could not walk; another at the breast, about a year old. After they were discharged, I said to the Judge, "The walking is bad, two of the children are unable to walk; they want to go to Wilmington, will there be any impropriety in my hiring a conveyance to take them over?" His reply was, "*O, no!*" The sheriff's deputy procured one, and I paid for it. They went over to Wilmington at noonday. I was sued for the penalty of aiding seven slaves to escape, and a verdict given in favor of the prosecutors for $500 each, or $3,500 in all. They then brought suit for trespass, in carrying them from Newcastle to Wilmington. The claimant's witnesses stated the slaves lost to be worth $1,600, but the jury gave a verdict of $1,900 more, making $5,400 in all. And John Hunn was fined $2,500 for harboring the same slaves, making $7,900.

I had no idea that I was infringing any law by paying for their passage here more especially as the Judge set them at liberty; and I certainly believed all to be free but two. If this is Law, or Slaveholding Justice, I think it is time there was a separation of the North from the South, or those unjust and oppressive laws should be repealed.

If thy friend Bailey thinks it worth while to notice those facts, he is at liberty to use my name as a voucher for their truth, as stated above.

In haste, I remain, as ever, thy friend,

THOMAS GARRETT.

N. B.—There was no evidence of my aiding any of them otherwise than by sending them five and a half miles to Wilmington, in a hired carriage, at noonday.

THE FOURTH OF JULY IN WASHINGTON—MR. WINTHROP'S ORATION.

The Fourth of July in Washington was appropriately honored by the laying of the corner stone of the Washington Monument—a great national work, long delayed, but at last begun under the most favorable auspices. The day was cool, clear, and serene. Volunteer companies from Boston, Baltimore, and other places, contributed to heighten the effect of the procession, which must have been a mile in length. Multitudes of citizens from adjoining States crowded the city. The President and his Cabinet, the members of Congress, the Diplomatic Corps, the officers of the army and navy, marines and volunteers, the city authorities of Alexandria, Georgetown, and Washington, societies of all kinds, Rechabites, Red Men, Odd Fellows, and Free Masons, in all their regalia, and crowds of citizens, attended the grand ceremony.

The orator of the occasion was Mr. Winthrop, Speaker of the House, who delivered an appropriate and elegant address. Several passages were peculiarly felicitous in their allusions. Referring to the time selected for laying the foundations of a monument to Washington, he spoke of the important movements now in progress in Europe.

"We see in them the influence of our own institutions. We behold in them the result of our own example. We recognise them as the spontaneous germination and growth of seeds which have been wafted over the ocean, for half a century past, from our own original Liberty Tree!

"The distinguished writer of the Declaration, which made this day memorable, was full of apprehensions as to the influence of the Old World upon the New. He even wished, on one occasion, that 'an ocean of fire' might roll between America and Europe, to cut off and consume those serpent fascinations and seductions which were to corrupt, if not to strangle outright, our infant Freedom in its cradle.

"Doubtless these were no idle fears at the time. Doubtless there are dangers still, which might almost seem to have justified such a wish. But it is plain that the currents of political influence thus far have run deepest and strongest in the opposite direction. *The influence of the New World upon the Old* is the great moral of the events of the day.

"Mr. Jefferson's 'ocean of fire' has, indeed, been almost realized. A tremendous enginery has covered the sea with smoke and flame. The fiery dragon has ceased to be a fable. The inspired description of Leviathan is fulfilled to the letter: 'Out of his mouth go burning lamps, and sparks of fire leap out. Out of his nostrils goeth smoke, as out of a seething pot or cauldron. His breath kindleth coals, and a flame goeth out of his mouth. He maketh the deep to boil like a pot; he maketh the sea like a pot of ointment.'

"But the Saint George of modern civilization and science, instead of slaying the dragon, has subdued him to the yoke, and broken him into the service of mankind. The ocean of fire has only facilitated the intercourse which it was invoked to destroy. And the result is before the world.

"New modes of communication, regular and more rapid interchanges of information and opinion, freer and more frequent comparisons of principles, of institutions, and of conditions, have at length brought the political systems of the two Continents into conflict; and prostrate thrones and reeling empires this day bear witness to the shock!"

This was quite happy, but the effect was greatly impaired by the very next paragraph, in which he introduced a technical figure better suited to the commonplace of a stump speech, than the dignity of an oration.

"Yes, fellow-citizens, (if I may be allowed the figure,) the great upward and downward trains on the track of human freedom have at last come into collision! It is too early as yet for any one to pronounce upon the precise consequences of the encounter. But we can see at a glance what engines have been shattered, and what engineers have been dashed from their seats. We can see, too, that the great American-built locomotive 'Liberty' still holds on its course, unimpeded and unimpaired; gathering strength as it goes; developing new energies to meet new exigencies; and bearing along its imperial train of twenty millions of people, with a speed which knows no parallel."

The view presented of the character of Washington was eloquent, discriminative, and, in the main, just; but we must dissent from one or two remarks.

"Of the public services of Washington to our own country, for which he was thus prepared and preserved, it is enough to say that in the three great epochs of our national history he stands forth preëminent and peerless, the master-spirit of the time.

"In the war of the Revolution, we see him the leader of our armies.

"In the formation of the Constitution, we see him the President of our Councils.

"In the organization of the Federal Government, we see him the Chief Magistrate of our Republic."

That he was "preëminent," cannot be doubted—the position assigned him secured him this preëminence—but, it can hardly be said with truth that he was "the master spirit" of the three epochs mentioned. The most prominent actor in a movement is not always its master spirit. The mind that really exerts a controlling influence over it, may be disqualified by the prejudices it has aroused from occupying the most conspicuous place. Every man, versed in the history of the Revolution, and of the formation of the present Government, who has reflected much upon those subjects, must know that Washington had less to do in originating the revolutionary movement, and stamping upon it its peculiar features, than Warren, Henry, Adams, Jefferson, and others of their compeers. He must feel that, had Washington proved false like Benedict Arnold, the movement would still have gone forward under the impelling force of public sentiment, and the regulating intelligence of those great leaders. Similar remarks might be made in relation to the two other epochs named by Mr. Winthrop. He was, in fact, the master-agent of many master-minds, themselves deriving their chief strength from a master-sentiment, rooted and grounded in the hearts of the People.

There was another passage in Mr. Winthrop's address, in which the greatest of the French patriots was made the object of a beautiful apostrophe.

"Washington is no new name to Europe. His star has been seen in every sky, and wise men everywhere have done it homage. To what other merely human being, indeed, has such homage ever before or since been rendered?

"'I have a large acquaintance among the most valuable and exalted classes of men,' wrote Erskine to Washington himself, 'but you are the only being for whom I ever felt an awful reverence.'

"'Illustrious man!' said Fox of him in the British House of Commons, in 1794, 'deriving honor less from the splendor of his situation than from the dignity of his mind; before whom all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance, and all the potentates of Europe become little and contemptible.'

"'Washington is dead!' proclaimed Napoleon, on hearing of the event. 'This great man fought against tyranny; he established the liberty of his country. His memory will be always dear to the French people, as it will be to all free men of the two worlds.'

"'It will be the duty of the historian and sage in all ages,' says Lord Brougham, 'to let no occasion pass of commemorating this illustrious man; and, until time shall be no more, will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington.'

"'One thing is certain,' says Guizot—'one thing is certain: that which Washington did—the founding of a free Government, by order and peace, at the close of the Revolution—no other policy than his could have accomplished.'

"And later, better still: 'Efface, henceforth, the name of Machiavel,' said Lamartine, within a few weeks past, in his reply to the Italian association—'efface, henceforth, the name of Machiavel from your titles of glory, and substitute for it the name of Washington, that is the one which should now be proclaimed; that is the name of modern liberty. It is no longer the name of a politician or a conqueror that is required; it is that of a man, the most disinterested, the most devoted to the people. This is the man required by liberty. The want of the age is a European Washington.'

"And who shall supply that want but he who so vividly realizes it? Enthusiastic, eloquent, admirable Lamartine! Though the magic wires may even now be trembling with the tidings of his downfall, we will not yet quite despair of him. Go on in the high career to which you have been called! Fall in it, if it must be so; but fall not, falter not, from it! Imitate the character you have so nobly appreciated! Fulfil the pledges you have so gloriously given! Plead still against the banner of blood! Strive still against the reign of terror! Aim still

'By winning words to conquer willing hearts,
And make persuasion do the work of fear!'

May a gallant and generous people second you, and the Power which preserved Washington sustain you, until you have secured peace, order, freedom to your country!

'Si qua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris.'"

For the National Era.

TO MARY.

BY MISS ALICE CAREY.

O, will affection's tendrils twine
About that summer time for aye,
When midway 'twixt thy home and mine
The quiet village churchyard lay!
With stars beginning to ascend,
And homeward winglets on the air,
Dost thou remember, O, my friend,
How often we have parted there?

That summer, like a sunlit sea,
Reflected neither cloud nor frown,
Yet in its bright wave, noiselessly,
Some ventures of the heart went down!
Blest be the one that still out-rides
The silent but tumultuous strife
Of hopes and fears, like heaving tides,
That beat against the shore of life!

The flowers run wild that used to be
So softly tended by thy hand—
Colors of beauty struck at sea,
And drifted backward to the land!
Breathing of havens whence we sailed,
Visions of lovelight seen and fled,
Swift barks of gladness met and hailed,
Of beacon fires, and land ahead!

A tumult of sweet light and shade
Is trembling softly in my heart,
A hush upon my soul is laid—
Our paths henceforth must lie apart!
In the dim chamber where I sit,
Fears, hopes, and memories rise and blend,
Like pale mists with the sunshine lit—
God's blessing on thee, my lost friend!

MOUNT HEALTHY, OHIO.

EASILY ANSWERED.

The following paragraph is from an editorial in the *Honesdale* (N. Y.) *Democrat*:

"Now, put down the *Era's* conflicting declarations together. Last July it said, 'the General, by his own distinct avowal, stands committed in favor of Wilmot's Proviso.' This June it says he has not said one word 'about the greatest of all questions now agitating the country—the extension of slavery into territory now free;' and that 'no man in his senses can doubt that on this point he concurs' with the propagandists of slavery. Here is an entire change of tune. Was the *Era* mentally or morally insane last July, or is it now?"

If the *Democrat* had desired to convey a fair impression of our position, it would have said that our article of last July was written in a bantering tone, and did not pretend to be a careful, sober exposition of the letter of General Taylor. Besides, at that time, it will be recollected, we, in common with the American People, were misled by the brief, neat, well-considered, business-like despatches of General Taylor, to give him credit for general intelligence in political affairs, and ability as a statesman. The subsequent letters of the General undeceived us, and convinced us that he was, as he avowed himself, entirely ignorant of the great questions that had been agitated by parties—so that the idea of inferring from the *Signal* letter that he was a Wilmot Proviso man did not afterwards occur to us seriously, until the effort of some of his Northern supporters, exposed by us last week, led us to reëxamine the correspondence.

THE MOVEMENT.

The indications of a general movement of the People of the free States in favor of Free Territory, are multiplying rapidly.

The number of papers that have declined to hoist the Taylor flag has got beyond our reckoning.

As a sign of the importance of the Van Buren nomination, we may remark, that he has become the subject of fierce abuse from all the old factions. The Cass men denounce him as a disorganizer, the slaveholders, as an Abolitionist, and the Whigs are quoting against him his pro-slavery course in 1836.

The Boston *Daily Advertiser*, the *New York Herald*, and kindred prints, are quoting conspicuously, with great glee, the address of our friend Tappan and others, to the Liberty Men, as evidence that no effective union is to be formed against General Taylor. The *Philadelphia Sun*, a thorough Taylor paper, compliments the address highly. It is made the occasion for taunting the Conscience Whigs and the Barnburners; even the Abolitionists, they are told, will have nothing to do with them.

The Liberty Men, whatever they may decide to do, will not neglect the Buffalo Convention. They have no disposition to stand aloof from a movement in favor of Human Liberty, because others are prominently engaged in it. The Party in Ohio and Indiana has already made provision for sending full delegations. We rejoice to see that the Worcester Convention appointed six delegates at large, two Whig, two Democratic, two Liberty Men—the latter, Messrs. Brewster and William Jackson. The *Liberty Press* of Utica, New York, a Hale paper, says:

"The National Mass Meeting at Buffalo is a *People's Meeting*, and not that of a party, or a section of any one party. We respond to the call for this meeting, and suggest that, as Liberty men are a part of the people, and greatly interested in the question at issue, they should attend, either as delegates or on their 'own hook'—perhaps as delegates where meetings can be held to make appointments. What say brethren to this?"

The State Liberty Convention of New York, which was appointed to meet on the 1st August, has been postponed till the 6th September. The *Liberty Press* states the reasons as follows:

"The first of August is the most busy season of the summer months, and it is next to impossible to get a general representation from all the State at that time. Between harvesting and sowing will be much the best time to secure the attendance of working men, such as Liberty men are; and, besides, things *may* occur at the Buffalo People's Convention, which may render a State Liberty Convention necessary, subsequent to that grand council of freemen. We live in the days of revolution, and it becomes us to act wisely, truly, but always with reference to the progress and triumph of freedom."

The New Hampshire *Independent Democrat and Freeman*, a Hale paper from the start, sympathizes with the general movement:

"In our belief, the nominee of the Buffalo Convention will be either Mr. Van Buren or Mr. Hale. All Liberty Men proper will of course labor to secure Mr. Hale's nomination. This they will do in justice to their own principles, and in justice to Mr. Hale, who has so gallantly borne the banner of Freedom, when and where there were none to help. They will do it because they believe no one could better concentrate the support of all the opponents of Slavery-Extension. The leading men of the Liberty party in Ohio are, we see, foremost in this new movement to unite all the freemen of the free States. Their State Convention has endorsed and recommended this Buffalo Convention. They expect to abide its decision.

"What Mr. Hale's views on this subject may be, we know not. We do know, however, that he will coöperate heartily in any movement which promises most surely to redeem this country from the dominion of the Slave Power. No considerations personal to himself will deter him from giving his best efforts for the establishment of just principles, and the triumph of Freedom."

A large meeting of Democrats and Independent voters was held in Cincinnati last week, to ratify the nomination of Van Buren.

We notice in the *Sandusky* (O.) *Mirror* a call signed by ninety-six Democrats for a general meeting of the Democracy of Sandusky, to ratify the same nomination. The *Mirror* says:

"It bears the names of a very large proportion of the active, tried, and efficient members of the Democratic party in this city. Nearly the whole of the party in this city will sign the call if they have an opportunity, it not having been very thoroughly circulated as yet."

The Barnburners of Massachusetts have commenced moving. A large and spirited meeting was held in Berkshire, on the 4th, at which the following resolution was passed:

"*Resolved*, That the people of Massachusetts, without distinction of party, will support for the offices of President and Vice President, at the ensuing election, such persons, being opposed to the extension of slavery into the free Territories, as shall be nominated at the Buffalo Convention, to be held on the 9th of August; and that we recommend to that Convention Martin Van Buren as a candidate for the Presidency."

The call for the meeting was directed to all friends of free territory. It was addressed by Messrs. Chapman of Wisconsin, D. D. Field and Theodore Sedgwick of New York, &c.

We learn that a call for a State Convention in Illinois, to second the New York movement, was in circulation, and, at the last dates, two thousand names were already subscribed.

The *Albany Atlas* says that the *Fulton County Democrat*, the *Wayne Sentinel*, and the *Eastern State Journal*, have taken down the names of Cass and Butler, and substituted that of Van Buren.

We received a few days since a tremendous handbill, calling a public meeting at Norwich, Connecticut, on the evening of Wednesday, the 5th, in favor of Free Territory. CHARLES F. ADAMS was to address the assemblage. The call was signed by *three hundred and fifty* citizens!

A very large meeting, composed of Democrats, Whigs, and Liberty Men, was held last week in Pittsburg. Martin Van Buren was recommended to the Buffalo Convention, and measures were taken for a thorough Free Territory organization in Western Pennsylvania. The call for the meeting was numerously signed, says the *Daily Chronicle*, by Democrats, Whigs, and Liberty Men.

The *Mercer County* (Pa.) *Luminary* contains a call for a County Convention of the friends of Free Territory, without distinction of party, to appoint delegates to the Buffalo Convention of the 9th August.

The *Washington Patriot*, a Hale paper in Washington county, Pennsylvania, is calling upon the friends of Freedom to make a similar movement.

The *Onondaga* (N. Y.) *Sentinel* comes to us with the names of Henry Clay and Millard Fillmore, as its Free Territory candidates, subject to the decision of the Buffalo Convention.

The *Bradford* (Pa.) *Reporter*, published in Mr. Wilmot's district, has substituted the name of Van Buren for Cass as its Presidential candidate.

The *Watertown* (N. Y.) *Democratic Union* hauls down the names of Cass and Butler, and hoists those nominated by the Utica Convention.

The *Blackstone* (Mass.) *Chronicle* says:

"We are now enabled to state that the Norfolk Democrat and Bristol County Democrat have taken down the Cass flag; and it is rumored that a third Democratic paper in Middlesex county is about to advocate the cause of Van Buren. The Van Buren men in Massachusetts are also about to move in the matter of a Convention to nominate an electoral ticket."

From every indication, the meeting at Buffalo will be an immense one.

PULPIT ELECTIONEERING.—There never has been a candidate for the Presidency, to whom some preacher could not be found to give a certificate of character. A Rev. Mr. Lamb, at the Conference of Congregational and Presbyterian ministers at Hillsborough, N. H., has been testifying that General Taylor is a *teetotaller*, a strict Sabbath-keeper, a regular church-attendant, and never in the habit of using profane language. The old General is in danger of being a saint as well as hero.

LATER AND IMPORTANT FROM EUROPE.

The Caledonia, which arrived at New York on the 9th, brings important news from Europe to the 24th ult.

Paris was greatly agitated. Louis Napoleon had resigned. Six candidates for the Presidency were in the field—Lamartine, Thiers, and Louis Bonaparte, being the principal candidates. The popular feeling was running strongly in favor of Bonaparte. The Legitimists were divided between Lamartine and Thiers. Smith & Wilmer's Times speaks of great disaffection spreading throughout France—of the ominous action of the clubs, and of their plans to put down the Government. How much credit is to be given to such reports, we know not.

The war in Denmark continues unabated.

A commotion had taken place in Berlin. Some workmen who had gone to the King, to demand money or work, were set upon by the troops, who were ordered to disperse them. The result was a conflict, in which some of the former being wounded, the whole city flew to arms, the arsenal was plundered, and the people got the better of the soldiery. The next day, by a vote in the Assembly, the troops were ordered to leave, and the Government resigned.

A fearful collision had taken place at Prague, between the people and the King, in consequence of the refusal of the former to confirm the Provisional Government. The Prince Windschratz attempting to put down the people by force, a bloody battle ensued, which left Prague a heap of ruins, and resulted in the retirement of the Prince and his soldiers from the city to the heights commanding it.

In Italy, the struggle between the Austrian and Piedmontese continued with fluctuating success.

Mr. Hume's motion for reform in the representation had been brought before the British Parliament.

In Ireland, the organization of clubs was proceeding with great rapidity. In Dublin alone it is stated that there are forty clubs, each consisting of 300 members, making an aggregate of 12,000 men, who are accustomed to assemble, at least once a week, for the avowed purpose of being trained and disciplined. The county of Dublin is about to be organized in the same way, and some of the old Irish party are taking an active part in this movement.

The Emperor Nicholas contemplates the enfranchisement of all the serfs in his dominions.

From Wilmer & Smith's European Times.

LIVERPOOL, *June* 24, 1 *o'clock.*

Paris is reported to be in a state of great excitement. Letters, dated at noon yesterday, state that the debate on the railway question had again been adjourned. Crowds of people had perambulated through the principal streets on Thursday night, but no disturbance took place. The laboring classes are getting up a monster petition, which they mean to carry to the National Assembly, headed by an immense procession of the parties interested therein. Barricades were erected yesterday; the military interfered, and, at the hour when our despatches left, a collision was deemed inevitable. The pretensions of Napoleon Bonaparte are gaining ground.

Letters from Frankfort-on-the-Maine state that the Diet had unanimously declared that Trieste was a part of Germany; and that any attack thereon would be considered as a declaration of war against Germany. Intelligence has just reached us from Vienna, stating that the Austrian Government had accepted the mediation of England in the dispute between that country and Italy. The funds at Vienna had an improving tendency.

The Irish mail has just arrived, and from the letters and papers received we have the following important announcement: Mr. John O'Connell has published a long address to the people of Ireland, stating his intention to give the League a fair trial by abstaining from public life, except in so far as his duties as a member of Parliament may require his exertions. He will not join the League, (so we understand him,) neither will he offer it any opposition.

NEW YORK, *July* 10, 1848.

The New York Courier and Enquirer of this morning contains an important despatch, received by the Caledonia, which fully substantiates the announcement that a second Reign of Terror has commenced in France. The members of the Provisional Government had been forced by the discontent of the people to resign their posts, which, causing great excitement, General Cavaignac declared Paris to be in a state of siege, and, placing himself at the head of the National Guard, took possession of the Government.

It will be seen that this threatening intelligence comes through the office of the *Times*, Liverpool, at the latest date, by telegraphic despatch. We shall await, in deep anxiety, the next arrival, hoping that full accounts from Paris may show that there has been great exaggeration. We cannot give up our hope that France may yet escape a bloody revolution. More is to be feared, we apprehend, from the cowardly conservatism of the middle classes and the friends of order, than from any other cause. The poorer classes of the people, the radicals, republicans, &c., will hardly be driven to extreme measures, unless they should see the benefits of the Revolution about to be lost for want of liberality and wise concession on the part of the Conservatives.

For the National Era.

PRAY FOR FRANCE.

Pray for France—
Now, while Tyranny is lying,
Fiercely writhing in his pain;
Now, while Liberty is sighing,
Lest the monster rise again;
While, with joyous exultation,
She her long-lost birthright boasts;
Christian! solemn supplication
Make unto the Lord of hosts.
Pray for France.

Pray for France—
While the startled world is gazing
On her unexpected birth;
While her natal star is blazing
Like a beacon o'er the earth;
Now, while selfishness is scheming
How the spoils may best be won;
And fond hearts are vainly dreaming
That their generous toil is done;
Pray for France.

Pray for France—
Now, while evil, never sleeping,
Plans new weapons for the fight,
Let us, in our Christian keeping,
Give an earnest prayer for right.
Pray, that she who, bravely flinging
From her limbs the galling chain,
To her purpose firmly clinging,
Ne'er may tempt the thrall again—
Pray for France.

Pray for France—
Pray, that, from her tyrants parted,
Freedom's goal may now be won;
Pray, that 'mong her noble-hearted,
She may find a Washington.
Pray, that from her temples spurning
False Ambition's shrine of blood,
And from worthless idols turning,
She may bow alone to God—
Pray for France.

C. S. A.

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND.

THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY INDICTMENTS.

The People of the United States will hardly fail to have their attention arrested by the following statement, which we copy from the *Alexandria* (Va) *Gazette:*

"The grand jury of Washington county, on Thursday, brought in indictments against the men charged with carrying off the slaves, who sailed in the schooner Pearl, to the following number and effect: Against Sears, (the captain,) thirty-six indictments for stealing slaves, the property of thirty-six owners, and seventy-four indictments for transporting seventy-four slaves, making one hundred and ten indictments. The same number of indictments, of the same nature, have been found against Drayton (the supercargo) and English, (the deck hand,) making, in all, three hundred and thirty indictments. David A. Hall, Esq., is to enter his appearance for the parties."

The penalty for stealing slaves, is 10 years' imprisonment; so that if they be convicted on the thirty-six indictments, for this, the aggregate penalty for each will be, 360 years! The penalty for the other offence is $200; so that conviction under the 74 indictments, for this, will involve each one in a fine of $14,800. Should conviction follow on all of the indictments, the aggregate punishment of all will be, 1,080 years' imprisonment, and $44,400 fine!!

We are inclined to think that members in Congress will be compelled by their constituents to examine into a system which demands and enforces such enormous penalties as these.

We do not think it right or expedient to lay plans in one State for interfering illegally and forcibly with the laws or institutions of any other State, however wrong; and such, we believe, is the sentiment generally of the free States; but, such laws, such legal processes, and such penalties, as we have just noticed, are utterly inhuman, and will certainly arouse feelings of settled abhorrence throughout the masses of non-slaveholding citizens.

CONVENTION IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The Liberty men and Independent Democrats of New Hampshire held their State Convention at Concord on the 21st June. Hon. Joseph Cochran, of Manchester, was chosen Chairman. Resolutions were adopted, appropriate to the crisis; the old party nominations were denounced; the necessity of the union of all parties, to resist the aggressions of slavery, was insisted upon, and John P. Hale and other members of Congress were thus remembered:

"9. *Resolved*, That the members of this Convention express their sincere admiration of the course which our Senator in Congress and Presidential candidate, John P. Hale, has pursued in his contest with the slave power; and that we pledge him our hearty support at the ensuing Presidential election.

"10. *Resolved*, That the manly conduct of Messrs. Amos Tuck, Joshua R. Giddings, and John G. Palfrey, in standing by the right in the United States House of Representatives, entitles them to the respect and gratitude of all who truly adopt the great republican watchword, 'Liberty—Equality—Fraternity;' and that this respect and gratitude should also be awarded to all who have stood up fearlessly, in Congress or in State Legislatures, for the rights of man.

"*Resolved*, That we cordially approve of the nomination this day made, of John Page, Daniel Hoit, John Dow, Thomas Perkins, John Preston, and Lemuel P. Cooper, for electors of President and Vice President of the United States; and that we pledge to them our united, untiring, and ardent support."

ITEMS.

EX-GOVERNOR METCALFE, of Kentucky, fills the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Senator Crittenden.

THE HON. STEPHEN ARCHER, Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals, (Md.,) died at his residence, in that State, on the 26th.

VAN BUREN AND THE TAYLOR MEN.—The Taylor press is very much disgusted with Van Buren's pro-slavery course in 1836. Physician, heal thyself.

ILLINOIS.—The following despatch, signed by the Mayor and 100 other citizens of Chicago, was read at the Utica (N. Y.) Convention:

"SIR: Please make known to the Convention that Northern Illinois is ready to fraternize with New York. The undersigned, as Democrats, with thousands of others, are ready to second any national movement in favor of Free Territory, and would suggest a National Mass Convention."

JOSEPH T. BUCKINGHAM, so long and so favorably known as the editor of the *Boston Courier*, has retired from the establishment, being unable to advocate the nomination of General Taylor.

ELI B. TAPPAN, editor of the *Ohio Free Press*, (Columbus, O.,) has issued a supplement, assigning as his reasons for discontinuing his paper, his disapprobation of the course of his party in attempting to revolutionize the Government of Ohio, but especially his inability to sustain what he regards as the pro-slavery policy of the Democracy in abandoning the Wilmot Proviso.

VANCOUVER'S ISLAND is as large as Great Britain, and, according to Mr. Palmer, contains all the natural resources to make it the seat of a great empire.

MAJOR GENERAL BUTLER AND MR. SEVIER arrived at New Orleans on the 26th.

GENERAL WOOL on the 12th ultimo issued his orders for the army of occupation to fall back to the left bank of the Rio Grande.

ERASTUS BROOKS has retired from the *Pittsburg Gazette*, and been succeeded by D. N. White, former proprietor.

THE MEXICANS say that they would rather Scott should be President than Taylor—for the former is not ambitious of conquest, but the latter was in favor of extending the territory of the United States to the Sierra Madre. This is a nut for the No-Territory Taylor Whigs.

JOHN MITCHELL, the exiled Irish patriot, arrived at Bermuda on the 20th ult.

THE INDIANS IN MEXICO.—The *New Orleans Delta* says, that the Indians in Mexico, when our soldiers were leaving, crowded around them, sorrowing and weeping over their departure, as that of their best friends.

THE INDEPENDENT TAYLOR MEN of Maryland have called a State Convention, to meet on the 27th, in Baltimore, to consult on what is to be done since Taylor has been made a Whig candidate.

GENERAL TAYLOR, it is stated, is assigned to the command of the Western Division of the Army, and his headquarters will be Baton Rouge.

APPOINTMENTS CONFIRMED.—The appointments of Major Generals Pillow and Quitman, and Brigadier Generals Pierce and Cushing, have been confirmed, it is stated, by the Senate.

NO NOTICE YET.—The *New Orleans Bulletin* says that General Taylor has not yet received official notice of his nomination. Was it deemed prudent not to give him such notice, till prudential advisors could be present with him?

GOVERNOR SHUNK has resigned, on account of ill health.

NEWS.—The *Charleston Evening News* learns that the great Worcester Convention of Free Territory men has proved an abortion, having adjourned without nominating any candidate. We commend the *News* to our fourth page.

MR. VAN BUREN does not decline the nomination which his friends have obliged him to take.

HOPE FOR HALE.—Charles Spear, the indefatigable laborer in the cause of Prison Reform, says, in his paper, that Senator Foote is opposed to capital punishment. The honorable Senator has changed his creed, then, since he promised to play the part of Jack Ketch to Jack Hale, if the latter would but go to Mississippi.

"FACE THE MUSIC."—The correspondent of the *North American* reports very accurately an amusing scene which we had the pleasure of seeing the other day in the Senate.

"Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, the Liberty candidate for the Presidency, is not only a man of cleverness and parts, but withal a very good fellow, and no little of a wag. During the discursive debate in the Senate yesterday, upon an interrogatory being propounded to Mr. Foote—as to the conduct of General Cass—Mr. Hale, with much affected gravity, raised a point of order, alleging that it seemed to him entirely inconsistent, when a Presidential candidate had resigned his seat to avoid expressing his opinions, that his friends should be catechised as to those opinions.

"Mr. FOOTE.—As the Senator from New Hampshire is an aspirant himself, what does he think a candidate ought to do?

"Mr. HALE—(with promptitude and humor.) '*Why, stand up and face the music.*'"

T. G. TURNER, formerly associate editor of the *Cleveland Herald*, has become proprietor of the *Cleveland True Democrat*, of which Mr. Hamlin continues senior editor. There is to be no change in the politics of the paper.

MEN NOT BORN.—Among the many wonderful discoveries Mr. Calhoun has made in political and natural science, none is more wonderful than his recent announcement of the fact that men are not born, but *babes*. He is thus reported to have said in his late speech:

"This fatal error is the universal idea that all men are born free and equal. I purpose to examine this, and I am not afraid to meet the strong prejudices in its favor. There is not a word of truth in the proposition, as commonly understood, 'all men are born.' No, sir, men are not born; infants are born, and they grow to be men." [Laughter.]

Like all discoveries of genius, this one strikes us at once as so self-evident, that we all wonder we never saw it so before. King James's translators of the Bible, learned men as they were, made a great blunder when they wrote—"*Man*, that is *born* of woman, is of few days, and full of trouble." The proper rendering would have been, *babes*, that are born of woman, are of few days, &c. Their want of metaphysical precision is remarkable.

NEWSPAPER FOR SALE.—Should a purchaser be obtained who will prove in all respects satisfactory to our patrons, we will sell the *Loudoun Whig* establishment upon very reasonable terms. It is doing a fair amount of business, and, in the hands of a competent, economical, and industrious business man, cannot fail to thrive.

Leesburg, Virginia, July 7, 1848.

☞ Our brethren of the Press are respectfully requested to give place to the above in their respective journals.

PROSPECTUS for publishing a weekly newspaper at Columbus, Ohio, to be called THE STANDARD. To be edited by E. S. Hamlin, assisted by John C. Vaughan, as corresponding editor.

This paper will advocate the following principles:

1. The use of all constitutional means for the overthrow of the Slave Power and of Slavery.
2. No more Slave States.
3. No Slave Territory.
4. Free Soil for Free Men.
5. Improvement of Harbors and Rivers by the General Government.

Terms: Two dollars, invariably in advance.

It is of great importance that the subscriptions should be immediately returned, directed to E. S. Hamlin, Columbus, Ohio.

A letter from Gerbi, in the Regency of Tunis, quoted by the *Toulonnais*, states: On the 12th ultimo, a black slave, on board a Turkish ship, contrived to get into a boat moored alongside, and, at the risk of his life, for the weather was stormy, reached the "land of liberty." Almost immediately after he had got on shore, he was found and taken to M. Lusoo, the protector of the negroes at Gerbi, who gave information to the local authorities and Ottoman consul. The captain of the ship claimed the fugitive, and the vice governor, Si Hamid Ben Rise, refused to give him up, the Bey having abolished slavery. The captain having in vain tried both persuasions and menaces, at last accused the negro of theft; but this also failed, and in the end the slave established his freedom.—*Galignani.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

We continue to present random extracts from our correspondence. They serve to show the movement of the public mind.—*Ed. Era.*

WESTERN NEW YORK.

WARSAW, WYOMING COUNTY, N. Y.,
July 3, 1848.

To the Editor of the National Era:

SIR: A call to all persons opposed to Cass and Taylor, and in favor of a Convention to nominate a Free Soil candidate for the Presidency, has just been got up in this county, and within thirty-six hours after its first circulation it was signed by a *majority of the legal voters in town!* There are now upwards of 350 names upon it, and we have perfect confidence that it will be increased to 400, out of only about 500 voters. On Friday and Saturday, the call was sent to every town in the county. The first day, in Wyoming village, there were 100 names obtained; and so far as we have heard from other towns, it is equally well received. Barnburners, Whigs, and Abolitionists, unite in the call for a Mass Convention on the 13th instant, to appoint delegates to the National Convention at Buffalo.

We learn that a similar Convention is called in Monroe, and also in Livingston counties. There will not probably be fifty Whig votes in this town for Taylor, if a good nomination is made at Buffalo, and still less votes for Cass. The entire masses here think the time has *come now*, to organize against the aggressions of Slavery. Every third party Abolitionist in the county who has been applied to, so far, has signed the call, and cordially unites in the measure. Mr. Van Buren *is not*, and *will not be*, the choice of any portion of the Free Soil men of Western New York. Whigs and Barnburners say they would prefer *Hale* to him. We care not so much what a man's politics may have been, but Mr. Van Buren has been long and bitterly opposed by the Whigs, and it is not easy for them to have confidence in him. We have no doubt, however, but the Convention at Buffalo can agree on a good candidate; and if they do, *the whole bottom of responsibility* will be easily knocked out from under the two great pro-slavery parties in this State. The people are ripe for rebellion. Yours, &c.

SETH M. GATES.

LOCKPORT, N. Y., *July* 5, 1848.

SIR: There is a great up-heaving of the People in this county. A tremendous meeting was held in this town, last week, called by leading Whigs, Democrats, and Liberty men, in opposition to both Cass and Taylor. The proceedings were spirited—condemning the Slave-Power, opposing the extension of slavery, repudiating Cass and Taylor, and adjourning with repeated and enthusiastic cheers for a Free Territory candidate to be nominated at Buffalo on the 9th of August next. Similar meetings have been held in different parts of the county, and we hear of new ones being called daily.

As yet, no meeting in this county has been held in favor of Cass or Taylor. Some Taylor men have for the last two weeks been endeavoring to get up a call for a Taylor ratification meeting, and have circulated a call for that purpose. It is an up-hill business. Most of the Whigs refuse to sign. At first it was to have been held on the 6th, (to-morrow;) it is said now that it will come off next week. I doubt whether they will venture to hold one at all. I believe that the Buffalo nomination will get a tremendous majority in this county. Yours,

E. J. CHASE.

Cass aint running.

OHIO.

COLERAIN, BELMONT CO., *6th month 28th*, 1848.

* * * Thou wilt receive the above as a response to thy "Appeal." I heartily wish I could make a similar *response* every week between this time and the Presidential election. The Whigs of Belmont are exceedingly dissatisfied with the result of the Philadelphia Convention. I think I can safely venture to assert that, in the township in which I live, *not one Whig in three* will cast his vote for General Taylor—some will not vote at all, but generally they will vote for John P. Hale, or the nominee of an Independent Northern Convention. Respectfully thy friend,

J. P. MILHOUS.

UNIONTOWN, BELMONT CO., *June* 27, 1848.

* * * There is almost universal dissatisfaction in this vicinity, among the Whigs, with the nomination of Taylor—he cannot get the vote of Ohio, in my opinion.

Respectfully, NICHOLAS COOPER.

"OLD MOLLY STARK."

PARIS, STARK CO., O., *July* 6, 1848.

DEAR DOCTOR: Well, in "Old Molly Stark," as the Whigs call her, the 4th of July was variously celebrated. At Canton, the seat of power, there were a "Rough and Ready" and a "Cass" demonstration. Yesterday's Repository says: "The Rough and Ready celebration was *well attended, and went off quietly.*" That it went off *quietly* may be safely granted, as I am informed by one who was there that there were just *forty-seven*, all counted, in attendance. So father Saxon is contented with small crowds. The Cass doings numbered from 100 to 150—and all this on our National Birthday. The *Rebels* held a convention in Paris, eleven miles from Canton, where there were from 500 to 600 in attendance, to repudiate Old Hunkerism. Put this and that together of Stark. A friend of one of the Hunker Conventions of Canton apologized for their poverty of numbers by saying that the *streets were well crowded!* But the conventions were in the Court and Market houses. This was rich consolation. The people were in the streets, but would not come in. Rebellion, rank rebellion, is rife through the region of the "Democratic Belt." Van Buren's nomination takes like fire. Keep us advised of the People's movements.

H. L. P.

ILLINOIS.

NEAR LITTLE YORK, *Warren Co., Ill.*

DR. G. BAILEY: Yes, sir; I will. Enclosed is five dollars, for two subscribers for one year, and one for six months.

Wo to all trading politicians. Their wits were never so taxed. The next day after the receipt of the telegraphic news from the Philadelphia Convention, thirty-eight out of the forty-four voters of my immediate neighborhood declared themselves ready to coöperate with an independent party organization, on the basis of opposition to the further extension of slavery over this continent. The three parties were pretty equally divided before this. Very respectfully,

DAVID THOMPSON.

KENTUCKY.

GLASGOW, KY., *June* 30, 1848.

DEAR SIR: The question of slavery is being discussed here to some extent. More generally, it is the people, not politicians. From the present indications, I am satisfied they will have to take open ground on that subject, at least in another year; and whenever that is the case, I do not so much fear the result. The cause of emancipation is evidently gaining in this part of Kentucky. It has several friends here who are avowed and open on that subject—men well known and of character—but as yet no effective plan of action has been adopted; but we have it in contemplation, as soon the elections are over, to organize.

We learn that an anti-slavery candidate is running in the county where the writer resides.

INDIANA.

GOSHEN, ELKHART CO., *June* 18, 1848.

DEAR SIR: Can no plan be adopted to unite and harmonize the anti-slavery voters of the North? Could this but be effected, we would bless the Union in general, and the South in particular, with an anti-slavery President next 4th of March. No mistake about that. I have seen but few Democrats, and not a single Whig, that are pleased with either of the nominations for President. If you believe me, just half the effort which it took to elect Harrison, in 1840, would elect a good anti-slavery man, judiciously selected. Let a simultaneous movement take place. Let Conventions be held in every State. Let every man that can address a public audience be on hand. Let the Press send forth anti-slavery tracts by the million. Let those who can do nothing else distribute these tracts through all the length and breadth of the land. Let every individual act as though everything depended upon him. Let all act worthy of the good cause in which we are engaged, and worthy the blessing that attends its triumphant success, and the Heavens will shower down blessings until there will be no more room to receive them.

Yours, in the bonds of Philanthropy,

W. J. MATCHET.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 6, 1848.

The next Presidential election must decide the all-important question, whether the Government of the United States of America was formed to "preserve, propagate, and perpetuate slavery," or to "secure the blessings of liberty" to all living under it. In this momentous crisis, it behooves us to inquire well what it is our duty to do. A powerful acquisition has been made, of late, to the cause of freedom. A large portion of the Northern Democracy has revolted against the dictates of an oligarchy; they declare that the word Democracy shall be no longer an empty sound, but a truth. In my humble opinion, it is the duty of all friends of humanity to unite with them. It is true they do not come up to our standard, but they have met us half way. Let us, therefore, give them the hand of brotherhood, and treat them with the respect due their position. Let us accomplish what is within our reach *with their help.* Without the masses we can positively do nothing; once united with them, we can teach them better; they will be no longer prejudiced against us, for we are with them; they will listen to us, and, having once gained their confidence, we have gained all. Democracy is progressing; they will soon be up with us, and be careful they don't exceed ne in their zeal for freedom.

Let us, therefore, sacrifice on the altar of "Liberty" our personal preferences. No man can admire the many virtues of our honest John P. Hale more than I do, nor can any one more desire to see him the Presidential chair; but I cannot doubt for a moment that, as soon as our worthy candidate is convinced that it will forward the cause of freedom by uniting with the Free Soil Democracy, he will be the very man to recommend it.

Look at the editor of the New York Tribune. Having always been one of the bitterest opponents of Mr. Van Buren, he now recommends all those Whigs who cannot conscientiously support General Taylor to vote for Mr. Van Buren

C. D.

DELAWARE.

WILMINGTON, (DEL.,) *June* 11, 1848.

DR. BAILEY: In accordance with the suggestion contained in your "Appeal," I enclose you two dollars, to pay for one copy of the National Era for one year, to be sent to S A., Wilmington, Delaware. Please begin the year with the last number, (June 8th,) containing the speeches of Hale and Giddings.

I embrace the opportunity to make a few remarks upon the prospects of the Anti-Slavery cause in our community, which, I trust, may not be unseasonable.

Public opinion amongst us in relation to slavery is *in abeyance.* The private opinions of individuals, in regard to slavery in the abstract, are almost or quite unanimous against it; and as to the question of slavery as it is, and the propriety of its abolition in this State, there is but little difference of opinion, or, rather, the majority in favor of emancipation is large. All this, however, is beneath the surface; of actual, definitely expressed and *effective public opinion*, we have *none.* We are in a dead calm. We are in a state like that which chemists describe of water when it is cooled below 32 deg, by being kept perfectly still and free from agitation from without, the first disturbance resulting in solidifying a part of the mass. We want *stirring up.* The subject of slavery is avoided, as pestiferous, by our politicians and newspapers, and hence the change of public sentiment which has undoubtedly been going on is as yet without expression. But it is not the less *existing.* It needs but to be stirred and roused to show itself at the polls. Now, in this state of things, to whom can we appeal with more reason than to the editor of the Era and the friends of the cause in Washington, for what external aid we need? You are fully aware of the importance to the cause of securing the abolition of slavery in Delaware at an early date. Our Legislature meets but once in two years; and if the act of emancipation is not passed at its next session, we shall have two more years of anxious suspense before the attempt can be again made. To rouse the entire Anti-Slavery feeling of the community for the coming Presidential election, and make known to the politicians of the other parties the existence of a strong and energetic third party, able and willing to control the State elections, appears to me an object worthy the serious attention of all who are interested in the progress of Freedom. To do this with effect, meetings should be held and electoral candidates nominated *at once.* The effect of such a movement cannot be calculated at present. I know of many voters who have heretofore gone with the other parties, who now openly declare themselves utterly dissatisfied with their nominations, and ready to give their votes for Hale and King, should an electoral ticket be run, pledged to their support.

We, of Newcastle county, will never forget that it was by the votes of our Senators in the Legislature, that the bill for the gradual emancipation of slaves in Delaware was defeated eighteen months ago; and may we remember that our votes in the Presidential election of 1848 will probably decide the question in the next Legislature.

P. S.—Since the above was written, I have seen the draft of a call for a public meeting, to carry out these views. The writer seemed very desirous that Mr. G. should attend and aid.

W. S. H.

IMPROVED GOLD PEN.—Who is there that has occasion to write, though it be but seldom, that does not appreciate the conveniences of having a pen always ready for use? It is only a few years since the introduction of metallic pens, yet so convenient have they been found, that the *grey goose quill* has been almost entirely laid aside, and the *steel pen* has *generally* been substituted. The steel pen, however, corrodes so easily that it was found to be too expensive, and *gold* was substituted for the body of the pen, and *platina* for the point, so that they will neither corrode nor wear out, and, unless some violence is used, will last an age, and then be as good as new.

In the manufacture of GOLD PENS, Syracuse (N. Y.) has obtained an extensive and excellent reputation, there being five or six large establishments, employing a large number of hands, and turning out vast quantities of excellent pens. In addition to these, Messrs. E. Nichol & Co. have just started one of the most extensive establishments of the kind in the Union. These gentlemen were for years engaged with BENEDICT & BARNEY, and to them the Benedict & Barney pens were much indebted for their excellent character.

Having discovered some new and valuable improvements, they have entered extensively into the manufacture on their own account. Every pen will be examined and finished by one of the firm. The public will thus be benefited by their valuable and extensive experience, and have the assurance that every pen of their make will be a good one. We wish them success equal to their merits.

N.

UNION MAGAZINE.—The July number has just been received. This monthly is not surpassed by any other American periodical. It is filled with original articles from some of the best pens in the country. Its embellishments are always good. The Editor, MRS. KIRKLAND, is now in Europe, and is furnishing pleasant sketches of "Sight Seeing" there. Terms—$3 a year, or two copies for $5. All communications should be addressed to "Union Magazine, J. L. DE GRAW, agent, 140 *Nassau Street, New York.*"

*

GODEY'S LADY'S BOOK.—The July number commences the 37th volume of this popular monthly. This is a valuable number, of sixty pages, well filled with pleasant and instructive articles. The story entitled "The Club House," is well worth reading. It has twenty-eight engravings. The mezzotint, "The Fatal Error," is very beautiful.

*

AN ARTFUL CREATURE.—She got Mr. Jones by her cunning. He was a timid young man, and very bashful, and did not come up to the scratch, as my brother Jack calls it; so, after two or three letters had passed between them, she showed me a letter she had written to him, and the artful creature spell'd her Christian name with two *r's*, so that it read thus: "Marry Ann Smith;" and the poor creature took the hint, and did marry Ann Smith.—*Scientific American.*

LETTER FROM BALTIMORE.

The Free Colored People of Baltimore in their Church Relations—Signs of Progress—Some Friendly Suggestions.

BALTIMORE *July* 10, 1848.

To the Editor of the National Era:

I have ever taken a lively interest in all the movements of the free colored people, considering them of much greater importance in their relation to Slavery than most of our anti-slavery friends *seem* to regard them. It is to notice one of these movements that I have taken up my pen.

The colored people of this city, or, more properly speaking, that portion of them connected with the "African Methodist Episcopal Church," had an unusually interesting occasion yesterday, which was the day set apart for the consecration of their new place of worship, in Saratoga street. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the morning, the occasion called together a large congregation, composed in part of white people. The exercises were deeply interesting, consisting of the delivery of a consecration sermon, of decided power, by Rev. M. M. Clark, formerly of your city, accompanied by appropriate prayers, and hymnings, and chauntings. Their Bishop (Rev. William P. Quinn) was in attendance; but, being too unwell to officiate, Rev. Daniel A. Payne, elder in charge, took his place. He was assisted by a number of his clerical brethren, at different stages. Among these were Rev. William Moore, of your city; Rev. William H. Jones and Adam Driver, of this city. A large number of elders and preachers and other church officers were present as spectators on the interesting occasion. The entire ceremony was conducted in a manner which ought to have been sufficient to close the mouths of those who are wont to sneer at this down-trodden and despised people as incapable of taking care of themselves. The sermon and the supplications evinced decided talent and eloquence, while the singing of the choir would have done credit to those of whom much more was to have been expected. But the most notable fact is yet to be recorded. Inclement as was the weather, they collected *about five hundred dollars*—a result which no congregation of white people, similarly circumstanced as to pecuniary means, I venture to say, has ever realized in this city. If such is the spirit of this people under present adverse laws and social regulations, what might we not expect of them under more humane relations? Depend upon it, they only want *a fair chance to help themselves*, in order to demonstrate the full glory of that freedom which they now enjoy only in a partial sense—for it will not do to speak of them, under existing laws and prejudices, as absolute freemen.

In order to indicate the enterprise of the congregation which has erected the edifice whose consecration I have been noticing, I will copy the following description of it from the *Sun*, which is not apt to give *more* than the truth, when it is favorable to the colored people:

"*Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.*—This new church, situated on Saratoga street, between Gay and Holliday, is now completed. It is a spacious building, of neat appearance without and convenient arrangement within, and has been erected for this congregation. The general design is taken from one of the early Christian churches of Rome. The front is of painted brick, of very beautiful appearance. The basement floor of the interior is divided off into apartments for the accommodation of the schools attached to the church; a society meeting-room, and a suitably furnished apartment for the pastor, his library, &c.; two winding staircases ascend to the next story, which constitutes the church. The walls and ceiling, which is supported by smoothly wrought pillars and transverse beams, are of stucco work of a dark hue. There are galleries and a choir, and the body contains about 150 pews, which are free. The pulpit is of imitation walnut, with a velvet cushion, trimmed with gilt bullion fringe. The building is lighted with gas, introduced in neat burners, and is warmed by a large furnace in the basement. The architectural design was furnished by R. Carey Long, Esq., and the building has been erected under the superintendence of Mr. William Devere, the contractor."

The title which the *Sun* has given the congregation worshipping in this edifice is incorrect, and calculated to lead to a confounding of things totally unconnected. The "*African* Methodist Episcopal Church" has no connection whatever with either the Northern or Southern organization of the white Episcopal Methodists. They are an entirely independent body, with a distinct Episcopal head and supreme judicatory. It is to this separateness from the whites that their great prosperity is, in my view, to be mainly attributed. It is impossible for pastors of our race to minister efficiently over congregations composed of the colored race. They cannot enter into the feelings and wants of the flock in their varied relations—especially in domestic circles, under the workings of existent antipathies. This the colored membership of other church organizations are coming to discover with more or less clearness of perception. Hence we see such movements as petitions for *colored* preachers going up to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from congregations over whom the whites still hold jurisdiction. This is well enough, so far as it goes. But I should prefer to see all such churches cut loose from the whites as soon as circumstances will permit.

The directly opposite opinion of Frederick Douglas to the contrary, this is my matured opinion on this subject. I could give many reasons for it, which I think would strike our colored friends with force, did the nature of this letter allow of going at length into the subject. Suffice it to say, that only *by standing alone* in all such relations can they confound and hush the scoffers at the idea of their *ability to stand alone.*

Let our colored friends consider this matter well. I would advise no sudden ruptures of old relations. But let their doings tend, as rapidly as is safe, toward complete separateness of organization, as the state in which alone anything like desirable progress may be expected to begin. This, at least, is the view taken by one sincere friend of the colored race.

PHILO.

THIRTIETH CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION.

JULY 1.

SENATE.—Mr. Benton reported on the amendment to the House bill repealing the proviso to the act for raising an additional military force—a proviso which require the President, at the end of the war, to reduce the number of major generals to one, and of brigadier generals to two. The amendments *suspend*, instead of repealing, the proviso. The bill, as amended, was passed.

Quite a chivalric scene took place to-day, in connection with the presentation of a letter by Mr. Davis, of Mississippi, from Captain Roberts, concerning a certain flag, said to have been the first American flag raised on the capital of the Montezumas. Mr. Foote seemed to be of a different opinion from his colleague, and solemn words passed between them. Mr. Foote disclaimed any intention of arraigning the conduct of Col. Davis. Col. Davis had not supposed that his colleague intended to arraign his conduct, for, had he so supposed, he should not have answered him. Any imputations upon his conduct would have been answered elsewhere, but not in the Senate.

Mr. Foote repeated that he had intended no inuendo against his colleague. But if he had so intended, and his colleague had thought proper to notice it in the manner hinted, there was no man in Christendom to whom he would sooner have accorded every satisfaction desired.

The Senate and the galleries were doubtless awe-stricken by the lofty demeanor of these Knights of Gascony.

At the suggestion of Mr. Bright, a general understanding was entered into, that the final vote on the Oregon Territory bill shall be taken on Wednesday week, the debate in the mean time to be continued.

Executive session. Adjourned.

HOUSE.—The Civil and Diplomatic bill under consideration in the Committee of the Whole, Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, discussed the Baltimore platform, resolution by resolution. Mr. McClelland, of Michigan, defended Mr. Cass against the assaults of Mr. Stewart. Mr. Burt, of South Carolina, helped him. Mr. Cobb, of Georgia, discussed the no-platform of the Whigs. The closing part of his speech was interrupted by a conversation between Messrs. Hilliard and Ashmun, concerning the Philadelphia Convention and the Wilmot Proviso—the latter expressing the opinion that a majority of the Convention was in favor of the Proviso, the former declaring that the action of the Convention was satisfactory to him, as it had laid the Proviso on the table.

Mr. Flournoy then addressed the Committee on the Proviso, in its relations to parties. The Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

JULY 3

SENATE.—The joint resolution of the House fixing the time of adjournment of Congress on the 17th of July, coming up, Mr. Mangum delivered a long, discursive, electioneering speech on Generals Cass and Taylor, Whig and Democratic platforms, war, territory, and slavery, provisoes, internal improvements, &c. The debate became general, was entirely partisan, and was carried on by Messrs. Mangum, Foote, Hannegan, and Clayton. The only points of interest abroad were, the demonstration made by each set of partisans, of the sound pro-slavery policy of the candidate of the other set, and the exposure, by Mr. Mangum and Mr. Johnson of Maryland, of a vile fraud, in the publication in this city of two editions of Cass's Life, one intended for the South, the other for the North.

Mr. Niles made a short and humorous speech, complimenting the debaters as having succeeded most admirably in *assault*, but most poorly in *defence.*

HOUSE.—In Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union on the Civil and Diplomatic bill, Mr Flournoy, of Virginia, closed his speech in opposition to General Cass, and in support of General Taylor. Mr. Woodward, of South Carolina, followed in an argument on the subject of slavery in the Territories. Mr. Preston, of Virginia, succeeded him, in a speech designed to vindicate at once his devotion to the interests of slavery and of the Whig party. The bill was then laid aside by common consent. The Post Office Appropriation bill was taken up, and several amendments were offered and debated. The Committee rose, and the House adjourned over till Wednesday.

JULY 5.

SENATE.—Did not sit yesterday. To-day the question of adjournment again came up, and Mr. Clayton delivered a long partisan speech against General Cass, in favor of General Taylor, &c. The result was a rambling, electioneering debate, altogether out of order, but tolerated, because the Senate had gone too far to remedy the evil. At last, the resolution in relation to the adjournment being reached, a protracted struggle ensued, some aiming to defeat every movement to set a time for adjournment, others bent on fixing the period. The explanation of the excitement and struggle is to be found in the fact, that the Southern Democrats, thinking that they can use the Presidential question as a means to coerce a settlement of all Territorial questions in relation to slavery, are opposed to fixing a certain day for adjournment, lest members disposed to make such questions now, may talk against time, defeat all action at the present session, and thus push all such business over till next winter, when, the interests of no Presidential candidate being at stake, members may be less disposed to accommodation.

The question pending was upon the motion of Mr. Bright to strike out the 17th of July, and insert the 31st July.

Mr. Downs moved to postpone the consideration of the resolution until Monday week.

After debate, in which Messrs. Berrien, Breese, Downs, Lewis, Turney, and Allen participated, the motion was decided in the negative—yeas 19, nays 32.

Mr. Breese then moved to postpone until to-morrow week, which was also decided in the negative—yeas 22, nays 28.

After further debate, in which Messrs. Downs, Bright, Rusk, and Butler, took part—

Mr. Bell moved to lay the resolution on the table, and briefly stated his reasons for making the motion. This motion was also decided in the negative—yeas 25, nays 26.

Mr. Downs moved to amend the amendment by substituting the 14th August for the 31st July.

After debate by Messrs. Atherton, Johnson of Maryland, Bradbury, and Johnson of Georgia—

Mr. Lewis moved to lay the whole subject on the table; which was negatived—yeas 24, nays 25.

Mr. Rusk moved that the Senate adjourn—yeas 21, nays 26.

The question was then taken upon the amendment of Mr. Downs, substituting the 14th of August for the 31st of July, and determined in the negative—yeas 14, nays 33.

After a few remarks from Messrs. Davis of Mississippi and Allen—

The question was taken upon the amendment of Mr. Bright, to strike out the 17th and insert the 31st July, and it was determined in the affirmative—yeas 30, nays 18.

After a few words from Mr. Dickinson—

A motion was made by Mr. Bright to lay the resolution on the table; which was agreed to—yeas 24, nays 22.

The Senate then adjourned, after a long, wearisome, and exhausting session, from 11 A. M. until after 5 P. M.

The following was the vote on the amendment to the resolution fixing the time for the 14th of August:

YEAS—Messrs. Atherton, Benton, Borland, Butler, Calhoun, Dickinson, Downs, Foote, Hunter, Johnson of Louisiana, Johnson of Georgia, Lewis, Rusk, and Sebastian—14.

NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Badger, Bell, Berrien, Bradbury, Breese, Bright, Clarke, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Davis of Mississippi, Dayton, Dix, Dodge, Felch, Fitzgerald, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Johnson of Maryland, Mangum, Mason, Metcalfe, Miller, Niles, Pearce, Phelps, Spruance, Sturgeon, Turney, Underwood, Upham, and Yulee—33.

The following is the vote on fixing the 31st of July, as proposed by Mr. Bright:

YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Atherton, Badger, Bell, Berrien, Bradbury, Breese, Bright, Clarke, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dickinson, Dix, Felch, Fitzgerald, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Johnson of Maryland, Mangum, Metcalfe, Miller, Niles, Pearce, Phelps, Spruance, Sturgeon, Underwood, and Upham—30.

NAYS—Messrs. Benton, Borland, Butler, Calhoun, Davis of Mississippi, Dodge, Downs, Foote, Hunter, Johnson of Louisiana, Johnson of Georgia, Lewis, Mason, Rusk, Sebastian, Turney, Westcott, and Yulee—18.

The following is the vote to lay the resolution as amended on the table:

YEAS—Messrs. Atherton, Bell, Benton, Borland, Breese, Bright, Butler, Calhoun, Davis of Mississippi, Dickinson, Dodge, Downs, Fitzgerald, Foote, Hunter, Johnson of Louisiana, Johnson of Georgia, Lewis, Mangum, Mason, Rusk, Sebastian, Sturgeon, Turney, Westcott, and Yulee—26.

NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Badger, Berrien, Bradbury, Clarke, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dix, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Johnson of Maryland, Metcalfe, Miller, Niles, Pearce, Phelps, Spruance, Underwood, and Upham—22.

HOUSE.—The Speaker announced the report of the Committee on Commerce, and the accompanying resolutions on the message of the President giving his reasons for withholding his approval from the river and harbor bill of last session, on the memorial of the Chicago Convention, and on various other memorials for the improvement of rivers and harbors, as the subject first in order.

The resolutions were read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States vests in Congress the power to appropriate money to open and improve harbors, and remove obstructions from navigable rivers, in all cases where such improvements are necessary to the protection and facility of commerce with foreign nations or the commerce among the States.

2. *Resolved*, That the interests of our national commerce, the common defence, and general welfare of the United States, require a judicious exercise of the foregoing powers.

3. *Resolved*, That the reasons assigned by the President in his veto message of December 15, 1847, for his refusal to approve and sign the bill passed March 3, 1847, making appropriations for the improvement of certain harbors and rivers, are deemed insufficient and unsatisfactory.

4. *Resolved*, That it would be inexpedient, and contrary to the principles of the Constitution, to give the general consent of Congress, in advance of legislation by the States, to the imposition of tonnage duties by the several States, as a means of improving the ports and harbors at which such duties may be levied.

5. *Resolved*, That the report of the Committee on Commerce on the memorial of the Chicago Convention, respecting harbor and river improvements, the President's message of December 15, 1847, on the same subject, and the bill referred to said committee in relation to tonnage duties, with the minority report on the same subject, be printed, and that the Committee on Printing be directed to inquire into the expediency of printing extra copies of said report.

A motion to lay upon the table was lost—yeas 65, nays 109.

Motion to go into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union lost—yeas 78, nays 101.

Previous question was ordered. The vote being taken on the first resolution, it was adopted—yeas 128, nays 59.

Mr. Turner moved a reconsideration, and, indicating his intention to speak, the House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union; the whole time of which was occupied in considering amendments. Without disposing of the bill, the Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

JULY 6.

SENATE.—Mr. Mason, of Virginia, addressed the Senate in opposition to the 12th section of the Oregon bill, and in favor of the extension of slavery. Mr. Johnson, of Georgia, obtained the floor, and the subject was laid over.

The naval appropriation bill was considered.

A message was received from the President, communicating copies of the treaty with Mexico.

The Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.—Mr. Turner occupied his hour in a speech on the subject of internal improvements, on his motion to reconsider.

Mr. Wentworth moved to lay the motion on the table. Carried.

The Post Office appropriation bill was taken up in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. The Senate amendments were concurred in, and the bill was laid aside to be reported.

The Indian appropriation bill was considered, but not disposed of.

The Committee rose and reported the Post Office appropriation bill, which was then passed.

The Speaker laid before the House a message from the President, communicating copies of the Mexican treaty. The House adjourned.

JULY 7.

SENATE.—Mr. Niles reported, from the Select Committee, the bill to appropriate public lands, to aid in the construction of Whitney's railroad.

A bill was passed, making extra allowance to paymasters in the army.

The Committee on the Judiciary was instructed to inquire into the expediency of raising the salary of various U. S. district judges.

The Oregon bill was taken up, and Mr. Johnson of Georgia delivered a long speech, contending that the moment new territory was acquired, it was thrown open to slavery. He also denied the power of Congress to legislate upon the subject of slavery in any way.

Mr. Hale asked him, then, by what right Congress had legislated upon the subject in the District of Columbia—a question which the Senator could not answer.

Mr. Davis obtained the floor, and the subject was laid over.

The motion of Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, to add two members to the Committee on Territories, was discussed at large, but no action was had upon it. The Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.—The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and took up the Indian Appropriation bill. After some time spent in its consideration, the Committee rose. The House resolved to close debate one hour after going into Committee again upon the bill, and then adjourned.

JULY 8.

SENATE.—Mr. Benton reported a bill to carry into effect certain stipulations in the treaty with Mexico.

The consideration of Mr. Butler's motion to add two members to the Committee on the Territories, was resumed. It consists of the same number of members as the other standing committees, but the majority are from non-slaveholding States. The motion was at last rejected by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Bell, Berrien, Breese, Bright, Butler, Calhoun, Davis of Mississippi, Downs, Foote, Hunter, Johnson of Louisiana, Johnson of Georgia, Lewis, Pearce, Sebastian, Turney, Yulee—17.

NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Atherton, Badger, Benton, Bradbury, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dix, Dodge, Felch, Fitzgerald, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Houston, Johnson of Maryland, Metcalfe, Miller, Niles, Rusk, Spruance, Sturgeon, Underwood, Upham, Walker, Westcott—27.

It will be observed that Messrs. Breese and Bright were the only members from non-slaveholding States in the affirmative, while Messrs. Badger and Benton, Houston and Rusk, Metcalfe and Underwood, Westcott and Johnson, were the only members from slaveholding States against it.

The Oregon bill coming up, Mr. Davis of Massachusetts addressed the Senate at length in support of the 12th section of the bill, and in reply to the arguments of Messrs. Calhoun and Johnson. Adjourned.

HOUSE.—The Indian Appropriation bill was again considered in Committee of the Whole. The great majority of the Senate amendments were concurred with. Some were dissented from. The Committee rose and reported the bill as amended. Several bills on the Speaker's table were taken up and disposed of.

Mr. McLane gave notice that he would bring in, at some subsequent day, a joint resolution for the erection of the Territories of Oregon, New Mexico, and California, into States, on certain terms and conditions. Adjourned.

JULY 10.

SENATE.—Mr. Hale presented a memorial from Illinois, praying Congress to take steps to release the fugitive slaves, if any, in the jail at Washington, and to prevent such arrests. Question of reception laid upon the table.

Mr. Hale, on leave, introduced a bill to prevent speculation in public lands, and give a portion of them to actual settlers. Mr. H. said that the bill provided that persons owning no land may enter a half section, and, after residing on the same for five years, shall be entitled to a patent for the same.

A bill was passed securing the franking privilege to Mr. Vattemare, for the purpose of facilitating international exchanges.

Mr. Mangum, of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom had been referred the claim of the owners of the Amistad, in reply to a question by Mr. Yulee, said that the subject was under consideration.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill to establish the Territorial Government of Oregon, and Mr. Reverdy Johnson spoke at length upon the question of slavery and the introduction of that institution into the new territories of the United States, arguing that it must be settled—as it had heretofore been settled—by compromise. If it was not settled by compromise, it was his honest conviction that it would be settled by blood, or by disunion.

Mr. Hannegan gave notice of an additional amendment, and Mr. Underwood altered the phraseology of the proviso heretofore offered by him; both of which were ordered to be printed.

Mr. Hunter having obtained the floor,

The Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.—The House was occupied chiefly in the consideration of a series of resolutions introduced by Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, calling on the President for information in relation to the boundaries of New Mexico and California, and copies of the maps referred to in the late treaty between Mexico and the United States; also information respecting the character of the civil Governments established and maintained since the war began in New Mexico and California; and whether the officers appointed for the latter Government still retain their places, how they have been paid, and by what authority of law; also, whether there has been any case of trial and execution for treason against the United States in that part of New Mexico which lies east of the Rio Grande, the character of the tribunal, and the proceedings in the case.

Messrs. Stephens and Schenck assailed the President with great vehemence, and he was defended with equal vigor by Messrs. McClernand and McLane. The previous question was moved, and the resolutions were adopted.

Adjourned.

JULY 11.

SENATE.—Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, addressed the Senate on the Oregon bill, in support of the pro-slavery side of the question.

The subject was laid over, and the Senate then resumed the consideration of the Texas Navy claim.

HOUSE.—The House by large majorities adopted the resolutions on internal improvements, reported from the Committee on Commerce, in opposition to the doctrines of the President's veto message.

The Civil and Diplomatic bill was then considered in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

FOREIGN MARKETS.

LIVERPOOL.

June 24.—Corn sold at 31*s.* to 33*s.* 6*d.* per 480 pounds, for white, and 35*s.* to 36*s.* for yellow. Flour, United States, 27*s.* 6*d.* to 28*s.* 6*d.* Wheat, United States, red, 6*s.* 5*d.* to 7*s.* 8*d.* The European Times says that, on the 23d, good Western Canal flour sold in Liverpool at 28*s.* to 28*s.* 6*d.*, and in some cases at 29*s.* per barrel. Sales of wheat, 12,570 bushels.

June 23.—Cotton is no lower this week. Ordinary qualities of American are a point higher; quotations for Upland and New Orleans are not only steadily maintained, but the latter, from their scarcity, are quoted at ⅛*d.* higher—4¾*d.* We are still lacking that decided improvement in Manchester, which is necessary to bring our market into uniform and continuous activity.

Consols at London on the 23d, 81¾ to 83⅝.

DOMESTIC MARKETS.

BALTIMORE.

Beef cattle.—Prices equal to about $3 gross—a slight advance.

Hogs.—We quote at $4.75 a $5, with sales.

Flour and Meal.—Supply and the receipts light. The foreign news has had no effect upon prices. Small sales at $5.62½, more than which purchasers are unwilling to give. City Mills is selling at $5.75—millers manufacturing to a fair extent. Rye flour at $3.75. Corn meal nominal at $2 37½.

Grain.—Receipts of all kinds of grain light. Market for both wheat and corn is somewhat firmer, with a slight improvement in prices. Good to prime red wheat at $1 a $1.03; white wheat, $1.10 a $1.15. Corn is improving; white at 43 a 44 cents; yellow, 47 a 48 cents, and scarce. Oats, 30 a 33 cents. Rye, 62 a 68 cents.

Provisions.—The supply of barreled meats, and in fact all descriptions, is comparatively light. We note a fair demand, and prices are maintained. Mess pork $10.75 a $11. No. 1, beef, $10.50 a $11. Bacon in good demand. Shoulders, 4½ a 4¾ cts. sides, 4¾ a 5 cents; hams, 7 a 8 cents. Lard, 7½ a 8½ cents in barrels and kegs.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

THE OHIO FREE TERRITORY CONVENTION—EXTRACT FROM ITS ADDRESS.

THE JEFFERSONIAN PROVISO.

The evidence as to the designs and anticipations of our Revolution Fathers in relation to Slavery, is full and complete. We ask attention, especial attention, at present, to the policy and power of the Federal Government in respect to its extension.

It is well known that during the war of the Revolution, several of the States laid claim, under their respective charters, to the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. It is also well known, that the Federal Congress claimed the same territory as unoccupied lands, which originally belonged, not to the colonies, but to the Crown, and had been wrested from Britain by the common blood and treasure of all the States.

The title of Congress, in the capacity of trustee for the States, was, we doubt not, the best title to those unoccupied lands. But the Congress was anxious to avoid a conflict of State and Federal jurisdictions, and therefore urged the States to make liberal cessions of territorial claims.

Cessions were accordingly made by New York, Massachusetts, Virginia, Connecticut, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia. By these cessions the title of the United States was confirmed to all the Territories North of the Ohio, and of all that now constitute the States of Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama.

The first of these cessions was made by New York, on the 1st of March, 1780; the second by Virginia, on 1st of March, 1784. These cessions embraced the Northwestern Territory.

On the 1st of March, 1784, the very day of the Virginia cession, a committee, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson of Virginia, Chase of Maryland, and Howell of Rhode Island, reported a plan for the government of the entire Western Territory, acquired and to be acquired, "ceded or to be ceded," extending from the 31st to beyond the 47th degree of north latitude. This plan provided for the division of the whole Territory into seventeen States, with certain prescribed boundaries; and for the establishment of "temporary and permanent governments" for them; and for their final admission into the Federal Union, with this *Proviso*, among others, as the basis both of the "temporary and permanent Governments."

> "*Provided*, That after the year 1800 of the Christian Era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, in any of the said States, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty."

It will be noted that this proviso made no provision for the reclamation of slaves escaped into the Territory. It was designed and framed as a complete defence against the intrusion of slavery in any form, or under any modification. The coming century was to witness, upon the first day of its existence, the inauguration of Freedom, as the perpetual and fundamental law of all National Territories, and of all States to be created from them.

Such was the grand and comprehensive idea of Jefferson. It was worthy of the author of the Declaration of Independence. The Proviso was his second noblest work.

It is to be deplored that even then there were some delegates in Congress who did not show the spirit of Jefferson. Of them, Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, achieved for himself an unenviable immortality, by his motion, on the 19th of April, 1784, to strike out the Proviso from the reported plan of government. The question, on this motion, in accordance with the usage of Congress, when passing upon matters requiring the assent of nine States to the validity of any, was taken in this form: Shall this clause stand? If nine States, each having one vote, should respond "aye," the clause would be retained; if not, it would be stricken out. Upon the question thus put, eleven States, represented by twenty-three delegates, voted. Six States voted "aye;" three States, one of which was Virginia, voted no; one, North Carolina, was divided, and one, New Jersey, was, on that day, represented by a single delegate, whose vote was aye, but, under the Articles of Confederation, could not be counted as the vote of his State. Of the delegates, sixteen voted "aye," and seven voted "no." The assent of nine States being considered necessary to retain the clause, the motion to strike out was declared carried. Thus, with two-thirds of the States whose votes could be counted, and more than two-thirds of the delegates in its favor, the Proviso was lost. Had the absent delegates from New Jersey been present, had but one of the colleagues of Mr. Jefferson been animated by his spirit, and had Mr. Spaight voted with his colleague, Mr. Williamson, or had the voice of a majority of two-thirds been allowed to prevail, the Proviso would have become irrevocable law, the progress of Slavery beyond the original States would have been arrested forever, and its speedy extinction then would have necessarily followed.

We cannot pause to dwell on the vast and affecting consequences of this minority decision. No description can represent, no computation measure, no limitation bound them. Had they been foreseen in any degree of certainty or clearness, the result, assuredly, would have been otherwise. Those who voted against the Proviso from considerations of personal or sectional interest, or because they deemed it premature to legislate for territory not yet acquired, or merely because they wished to adjourn a troublesome question, would have shrunk from the responsibility of inflicting the transcendent evils of Slavery-Extension upon their country and their countrymen.

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

The friends of freedom were not discouraged by this defeat. They were still a powerful majority, and the sympathies of the people were with them. Three years afterwards, the subject of the Western Territories was again taken up, and an ordinance was reported for the government of the Territory Northwest of the river Ohio. This Territory, it must be remembered, had been ceded by Virginia, a slaveholding State, and slavery was introduced or established in it, having been introduced by the French settlers, prior to the cession by France to Great Britain, in 1688. If, then, it had been the policy of our Government to foster or extend slavery, certainly there would have been no interference with it here. Not such, however, but the reverse of such, was then our national policy. Even the opposition to the extension of Freedom, which had manifested itself three years before, had disappeared. When, therefore, a motion was made by Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, to amend the reported ordinance, by engrafting upon it the Proviso of Jefferson, it was carried without a dissenting voice. The prohibition of slavery thus became the corner stone of the institutions of the Northwest. It stands in the ordinance as a perpetual memorial of the noble purpose of our fathers, by themselves therein set forth, to "*extend* the fundamental principles of civil and religious *liberty*; to *fix* and *establish* those principles as *the basis* of all *laws, Constitutions*, and *Governments*, which forever thereafter should be framed in the said Territory." There let it stand forever!

It has been well said, that the monument of Jefferson is not over his grave in Virginia. Brambles and the wild grass grow over that. But his monument is here; here in the broad Northwest; wherever Free Labor plies its honorable task—wherever science leads youth in pursuit of knowledge—wherever religion pours its celestial light, in all our happy homes, and in the hearts of three million of Freemen, is the monument of Thomas Jefferson. We look upon it, and bless God, who raised up such a man for such a time, and provided worthy comrades with him, and worthy successors in his work when he was withdrawn from it, until its final completion by the adoption of the ordinance.

It is worthy of remark, that the privilege of reclaiming fugitives from service is limited by the ordinance to servants escaped into the Territory from one of the *original* States. This phraseology distinctly reveals the purpose of the statesmen of that day—a purpose otherwise sufficiently manifest—that no more slave States should ever be admitted into the Union.

DEPARTURE FROM THE ORIGINAL POLICY.

It is worthy of remembrance, also, that the ordinance of 1787 and the Constitution of the United States were framed at the same time, in the same city, by two bodies, coöperating and constituted in part of the same members. The two instruments must be construed together. They are parts of the great system of Government and National Policy, and it seems to us that no intelligent man, who examines both, can honestly deny that it was the settled American policy of that day not to extend and nationalize, but to limit and localize the Institution of slavery. It was the design of our fathers to confer on the Federal Government no power to abolish slavery by direct legislation in the States, and none to establish or support it by legislation or otherwise in the Territories.

It is true that the policy of slavery-restriction was afterwards by degrees lost sight of. Congress accepted territorial cessions from South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia, with conditions in the deeds of cession against the application to the ceded territory of the Slavery prohibition of the ordinance of 1787, and in the territory they acquired Slavery was permitted under national authority. At a later period, Louisiana was purchased from France, and at a period still later, Florida was purchased from Spain, and the Slavery which existed in both at the time of acquisition was permitted to continue under the Territorial Government, with some restrictions against the augmentation of the slave population, which, as might have been expected, proved unavailing. Had Congress pursued the policy marked out by the Jefferson Proviso, or fulfilled the general expectation of the people prevailing when that proviso was adopted, or carefully regarded the just limits of their constitutional forces, slavery would never have been permitted in any of these Territories.

We ask the attention of the people of Ohio to some of the consequences that have followed this departure from the original policy of the National Government.

CONSEQUENCES.

The consequence was the admission into the Union of more slave States, created out of the Territories in which slavery was thus permitted to exist. Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, successively applied for admission into the Union as slaveholding States. Their applications provoked little or no opposition, and the applying States were admitted without any slavery restriction. The application of Missouri, however, met a determined resistance. The people of the free States were thoroughly aroused, her statesmen were unanimous; and for a time it seemed certain that Missouri must consent to take measures for the removal of slavery from her limits, as a condition of her admission into the Confederacy. But the event of the struggle was otherwise. Deserters enough abandoned the cause of freedom to secure the triumph of the Slavery-extensionists, and Missouri also took her place in the Union as a slaveholding State. The friends of freedom, discouraged by the issue of this struggle, submitted almost passively to the subsequent admission of Arkansas and Florida. Strengthened and encouraged by these accessions, the Slave Power demanded and obtained the annexation of Texas, and its admission into the Union as a slaveholding State. Eight slave States have been thus added to the Union, without regard to the original policy of the country, and in violation, as we firmly believe, of the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution.

The population of these States in 1840, allowing two hundred and fifty thousand for Florida and Texas, not then admitted, was 2,908,021 persons, of whom 928,429 were slaves, computing those in Florida and Texas at 50,000. The population of Ohio, in 1840, was 1,519,467. The eight new slaveholding States have then a free population exceeding by less than one-fourth that of the single free State of Ohio; and yet these States have eight times as many votes as Ohio in the Senate of the United States, and have in the House of Representatives eleven representatives for their slaves; consequently, in the election of President and Vice President, cast forty-five votes, while Ohio casts but twenty-three. Such is the enormous disproportion of political power to free population, the advantages of the disproportion being all in favor of the slave States, growing out of the extension of slavery.

Another consequence of the extension of slavery was the abandonment of all plans of emancipation in the original slave States. Nearly all the leading characters of Virginia and Maryland, and many in other slave States, before and for some time after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, favored Freedom. But as these men passed from the state of active life, and markets for slaves were opened in the West and Southwest, and the slaveholders began to appreciate the immense political power secured to them by the representation of three-fifths of their slaves, the idea of Emancipation grew less and less popular, until it became dangerous to utter the maxims of Jefferson and the precepts of Washington, even when standing upon the soil above their graves. It is true that of late the spirit of Emancipation seems to have revived; but it is true, also, that the struggle of Emancipationists in the slave States will be hopeless, unless the Freemen of the free States prove faithful to the cause of Liberty.

Other consequences of the extension of slavery were seen in the portentous control exercised by the Slave Power over the entire Legislative, Judicial, and Executive administration of the Government, over the selection and election of candidates for office, and over the expression of opinion in the halls of public debate, and in the humbler discussions of the street and the fireside. Its influence, like that of every other despotism, though unseen, is everywhere felt. It is not too much to say that the people of the free States are now the vassals of the Slave Power. And the vassalage has become too grievous to be any longer endured.

THE RESOLVE.

For ourselves, and for the people whom we represent, we will submit to it no longer; and we ask you, freemen of our noble State, to rally to the banner of the Free for the sake of Freedom.

Emboldened by past success, the slaveholders have entered upon their last great experiment. Hitherto, they have been content with securing the progress of Slavery, under the protection of the Federal Government, in the Territories where Slavery existed at the time of acquisition. They now demand the extension Slavery into Free Territories. They demand the sanction of National Legislation for the traffic in men and women in Territories, where such traffic is now, as it ought to be everywhere, a crime in the law. They demand that the American People, debasing themselves below the level of the vilest Governments of the Old World, shall enact, in the view of mocking despots and indignant freemen, the infamous part of propagandists of Slavery. They have so far succeeded that they have stifled the voice of Freedom in the nominating Conventions at Baltimore and Philadelphia. They have exacted, from the first, of them the slavish and absurd declaration that all action against slavery is unwarranted and dangerous; in the other, they contemptuously laid on the table a resolution against the extension of Slavery, offered by a delegate from this State. They have secured nominations, by both Conventions, of Presidential candidates prepared to concede them their extremest demands.

Nothing remains but the choice of disgraceful submission or manly resistance. Our election is made. We believe, also, the election of the people of Ohio is made. The hacks of Party and the satellites of Slavery will find that there is a point to which parties can neither be led nor driven. That point is the conscious abandonment of vital principles for the mere chance of party success. That the people are not prepared to descend to that point of degradation, we have the most cheering assurances from all parts of the State. Indications multiply of a mighty uprising of the masses, which will overwhelm the betrayers of the principles of Ohio.

Nor are these indications confined to our own State. The Democracy of New York, like a strong man after sleep, is arming itself to do battle for Freedom. It has shaken off at once the deadly embraces of Hunkerism and the Slave Power, and stands forth, full of strength and vigor, as the champion of Liberty. The Whigs of Massachusetts, reverting to the maxims of the Whigs of 1776, and discarding the cold and heartless conservatism, are gathering on the old battle-fields of Freedom, to strike again for her sacred cause. From the farthest West and from the farthest East come words of encouragement and cheer.

Democrats of Ohio! Where will you be in this contest for Freedom? What has the Slave Power done for you, that you should support the candidates which it has forced into nomination? Does not the Slave Power scoff at your free labor? Does it not demand the exclusion of yourselves and your children from the bounteous regions of the newly-acquired west, unless you will go there to be "yoked in with marked and branded slaves?" Why vote for Lewis Cass? Is selfish and mean abandonment of your principle—is truckling, desertion of your interests and your rights—is treachery to you—a recommendation to your suffrages? If not, do not vote for your betrayer, but bestow your suffrages for a man who can be depended on for fidelity to their principles and to you.

Whigs of Ohio! Whigs to whom the principles of 1776 are dear, we ask you, under what banner will you rally? Will you fight under a flag, inscribed no longer with the cherished principles of the Whigs, but displaying on one side the single motto, "Availability," and on the other, "Extension of Slavery?" Can you rally under such a flag as this? What is to be gained by it? What, but the consciousness of degradation, and the certainty that if you elect the candidate who has been nominated for you, you add new strength to the Slave Power, already so formidable and so dangerous.

Let not the Whigs say, "we must vote for Taylor to defeat Cass." And let not the Democrats say, "we must vote for Cass to defeat Taylor." Such language as this becomes not sensible and patriotic men. Vote for no candidate who is unworthy of your suffrages. Vote for no candidate who does not fairly represent your principles. Let the Liberty loving Democrat vote for Freedom, and trust that his Liberty-loving brother Whig will do the same. Let the Liberty-loving Whig reciprocate this generous confidence. Vote on principle—vote right, and you need not fear the consequences. A vote given in accordance with the dictate of conscience is never lost. Its salutary influence, as a noble testimony for Truth and Freedom, will be felt, whether the candidate for whom it is given be elected or not. Those votes only are lost which are given for unfit men, in violation of principle. But we need not lose our votes in any sense. Let the Whigs, Democrats, and Liberty men, opposed to the Extension of Slavery, unite, under the banner of Free Democracy, and nothing can resist them. They can elect their candidate by ample majorities over Cass men and Taylor men both.

Especially would we warn Freemen to guard the avenues to Congress and the State Legislatures. Vote for no man for Congress or the State Legislature who is not an assured and independent opponent of the Slave Power and Slavery-Extension, no matter from what party he comes. Vote for no man who, for any consideration or under any circumstances, will postpone the claims of Freedom to the interest of Party. We have had doughface representatives enough. Let us, hereafter, be represented by Freemen.

Fellow-citizens, we commit the cause of Freedom to the freemen of Ohio. We cannot, will not, believe that you will desert it, or suffer it to be deserted. From every quarter we have the most auspicious assurance. The People are rousing and moving. One struggle—one earnest, persevering, mighty, united effort—and the victory will be won, and the Slave Power humbled forever.

NEW YORK DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION—EXTRACT FROM ITS ADDRESS.

SECTIONALISM—THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

In view of the facts to which we have referred, how unfounded, how unblushing, the accusation preferred by the advocates and apologists of the slave power against the Democracy of the North, as if we had formed a sectional party, in defiance of the injunctions of Washington and the plain dictates of patriotic duty! It is they, the leaders and managers of the slave interest, who have done this; it is to them that the indignant rebukes of the Father of his Country are justly applicable. Nor is it merely now that they have subjected themselves to this condemnation. The history of parties in the United States is full of instances to show, that while the North, and especially the Democracy of the North, have been unwilling, except on grounds of the highest necessity, to array themselves on geographical or sectional grounds in their party relations, the people of the South, whenever any matter touching, or supposed to touch, the slave interest, has arisen, have been ever ready to plant themselves in hostility, not only to their natural opponents, but to their political associates, in defence of their peculiar institutions. How much, from time to time, has been yielded by the North to this feeling, let impartial history declare. How little of gratitude or comity has been manifested by the South, all who are familiar with American politics have had abundant opportunities to know.

A single word, we take leave to offer, in regard to a proposal which, now that the North has become aroused to the subject, and the advocates of the slave interest perceive her to be in earnest, it is probable they will be ready to offer, or, at least, if offered by the North, ready to accept. We allude to the repetition of the Missouri compromise. But besides the insuperable objection that the establishment of slavery, by the action of the Federal Government, in a single square mile of free territory, makes every citizen of the United States a propagandist of slavery, there are many other objections of the gravest character to any such step. The distinction between the case of New Mexico and California and the case of Louisiana is palpable and decisive. When we acquired Louisiana, slavery existed, actually in all the settled parts, in legal contemplation in every other part. The prohibition of slavery in that part of Louisiana lying west of Missouri and north of 36 deg. 30 min. was, therefore, an abolition of slavery in slave territory; the application of the like arrangement to New Mexico and California would be abolition freedom, and the establishment of slavery in that part of those territories lying north of the line agreed on. We utterly deny the power of this Government to perpetrate any such enormity. The battle of Bunker Hill was not fought to create a Government with any such facilities. If exercised by Congress, it will never be submitted to.

It was said by the greatest of Roman orators, that he would rather err with Plato than think rightly with the herd of inferior philosophers. We live in the beams of a clearer and purer system, which instructs us that the truth is ever to be received, no matter from whom or by what agency it may come. We cannot, therefore, say that we had rather err with Jefferson and his associates, including the Father of his Country, than think rightly with the abstractionists and pro-slavery advocates of the present day. But when we compare the genius, philanthropy, and patriotism of the former, with the narrow-minded, one idea sectionalism of the latter, we find in the contrast a strong confirmation of the soundness of the opinions we have espoused: and we not merely hold to them with the tenacity of assured conviction—we cling to them with the grasp of sympathy and love. Believing that Congress has the power to prohibit the establishment of slavery in the Territories in question; convinced that this power should be exercised; and feeling in our inmost hearts, that if, through the sufferance or by the act of Congress, slavery should be engrafted on the institutions of these Territories, there would then be perpetrated the greatest crime which, in the middle of the nineteenth century, a nation can commit, we pledge ourselves to each other, to our country, and to the world, that, however it may be with others, our skirts shall be clear of a guilt so enormous. Not for the fee simple of all the lands to which the question relates, not for the perpetual reversion of all the offices of the Federal Government, would we bring upon our souls the weight, or upon our posterity the curse, of any voluntary agency in the deed of shame.

THE ISSUE NOW BEFORE US.

From the experience of the past year, the events of the last month, and the discussion now going on at the Federal capital, it is easy to see what is the issue which the Democracy of the free States are now required to meet. It is neither more nor less than this: whether they will submit to be placed by the slave power, and by those who act with and for it, under the ban, on account of opinions honestly entertained, and temperately expressed, as to the power and the duty of Congress to prohibit the intrusion of slavery into Territories now free, and will consent to its establishment in such Territories, by the action or inaction of the Federal Government; or whether they will resolutely persist in the assertion of these opinions, and in just and constitutional efforts to spread them abroad, and to render them triumphant.

The main question involved in this issue is, in many of its bearings, the greatest and most solemn which, since the formation of the Government, has been presented to the American People. Though frequently referred to, and more or less debated, within the last two years, it has never yet received a thorough discussion; but the time has now come when it must be met. It can no longer be trifled with, evaded, or postponed. It is already upon us in the bill for the government of Oregon, above alluded to; it will be upon us in the bills for the government of New Mexico and California, which will soon demand the attention of Congress. From its very nature, and from the character of the people by whom it is ultimately to be decided, this question must necessarily become the great question of the day. In whatever point of view we may regard it, whether in its political, economical, or social aspects, it is pregnant with consequences the most momentous—consequences vast as those portions of the globe to which it relates—lasting as the existence of the globe itself.

To exhibit in their just relations all the bearings of this great subject, would require a volume. We have time and space for only a few words. In saying them, we shall, as far as possible, avoid every topic which might provoke irritation. We shall content ourselves with the bare announcement of a few of the most material points connected with the subject, when viewed in the most general of its aspects.

All experience has shown, and especially has it been demonstrated by the experience of our own country, that free labor and slave labor cannot usefully exist together on the same soil. The latter, concentrated in masses, and wielded by capitalists, leaves little room to the free laborer for successful competition; and, what is infinitely more injurious, it degrades him in the eyes of the community, and in his own estimation. To this cause must be ascribed the contempt felt during the prevalence of the feudal system in Europe for laborers of all classes; the slight regard in which persons engaged in mechanical pursuits, even those of the greatest usefulness, were held, and the exclusive appropriation to those who lived on the labor of others, of all the respect, and most of the advantages of society. In the cities and large towns of our slave States, the influence of commerce, of individuals from the North, and of other causes peculiar to this country, counteracts this tendency; but in the agricultural districts, where slave labor is extensively employed, it exists in such force that no free laborer will long endure it, who has the intelligence to understand and the ability to escape from it. He will eagerly seize the first opportunity to emigrate to a free State, where he can gain, without disgrace, the just rewards of honest industry.

In like manner, and for the like reason, has the tide of emigration, which for more than half a century has been flowing westward from New England and from Europe, avoided the slave States. Besides largely contributing to fill up Western New York and some parts of Pennsylvania, it has created on the right bank of the Ohio three States, one of which, in population, is already third in the Union, and which, together, now contain near three millions of souls—and three others, (Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa,) as yet of lesser note, but destined to rapid increase, in the North. In the mean time, Western Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, equally fertile, and, in some respects, more favorably situated, the settlement of which was begun at an earlier day, and with superior advantages, contained, at the last census, a free white population of less than one million and a half. The condition of Europe, present and prospective, is likely to give to foreign immigration, for many years to come, increased activity. It will follow, for many years to come, the same law it has obeyed in the past. It will seek the soil of freedom; it will shun that in which slavery is, or is to be established. If it have not free access to all quarters of the far West—if it be excluded, by the presence of slave labor, from any part of Oregon, New Mexico, or California—it will seat itself in the free States and free Territories, there to compete with free labor, to the injury of itself as well as to him.

If it be said that the territories of New Mexico and California are too remote from the Atlantic seaboard, and too unfavorable in point of climate, to attract the emigrants to their distant and sultry regions, and will, therefore, receive no accession to their population from them, a moment's reflection will show the error and short-sightedness of the assumption. It is true that this vast class has generally avoided the Southern and chosen the Northern and Middle States for its place of permanent establishment. But, besides the insurmountable obstacles which the existence of slavery in the South has set in the way of the free laborer, it must be remembered that the tide of immigration which has hitherto rolled in upon us has been exclusively derived from countries lying in latitudes parallel with, or even higher than those of the Canadas. The emigrants from the North of Europe, true to the law of climate and the instincts of nature, fix their abodes in the temperate regions of the Northern States. Large numbers from Norway, seeking in the country of their adoption the hardy and vigorous climate to which they have been accustomed in their father land, have settled in our extreme northernmost districts in Wisconsin and Iowa.

In the mean time, there has been little or no emigration from the South of Europe. The greater ignorance and degradation of its population has hindered them from the desire of exchanging the evils of their present state for the blessings of a free government. But, had there been any such desire, there has been as yet no spot on the North American continent to receive the emigrant from Southern Europe. He is debarred from settling in the North by the same laws of climate and physical constitution which keep the German and the Irishman from the South; and from the South he has been excluded by a barrier no less formidable, planted, not by the hand of nature, but by the vices of society.

The present year has witnessed the emancipation of the European mind. The glorious work it is now accomplishing had its origin in part, and derives its power in a great measure, from free impulses and movements in Italy, and will be as complete and beneficent in its results for the Southern as for the Northern States of Europe. There is every reason to believe that, thus enlightened with a just appreciation of the benefits of Republican institutions, their overstocked population will relieve itself by vast immigration to this country. Especially will this be the case, if our newly acquired territories in Mexico and California, with their warm and luxuriant climate, invite its entrance, unopposed by the presence of the degrading influences and associations of slavery, and for the first, afford to the emigrant from the Mediterranean a home as permanent and as happy as the free States of the North now do to those from the Baltic and the North Sea.

It is not, then, merely for ourselves, nor for our posterity, that we would preserve free the territories in question. We would keep them for the Caucasian race; we would anticipate the day when, from Maine to Northwestern Oregon and Southwestern California, the land shall be filled with the free descendants of this noble stock. Seeing what the ordinance of 1787 has done for the five States which, by it, have been kept for the free laborer—seeing, also, the benefits which Iowa has derived from the abolition of slavery in the northern part of Louisiana, we would extend the benefits of this policy not merely to Oregon, but to the whole of our new acquisitions.

Our wishes, in this regard, are immeasurably strengthened, when we contemplate the evils which may result to our country and to the world, by the further extension of the slave power in America. We speak not now of the unequal distribution of political power, further than to say that, in permitting it to be extended to Louisiana, Florida, and Texas, the whole North, and especially the Northern Democracy, by whose aid those Territories were acquired, have carried the original compromise of the Constitution, on this point, infinitely further than any of its framers ever expected or desired. We speak not of the incompatibility of domestic slavery as a permanent institution, even in the mitigated form in which it exists in our American States, with the highest developments of Christianity, as well as with the advancing progress of the Democratic principle. We speak merely of the difference to us and to mankind between Western America, settled exclusively by white freemen, and the same region given up, either wholly or in part, to a slave population.

Throughout the Eastern and Northern States, free labor has scattered broadcast the seeds of knowledge and of virtue. In the elder of these States they have long since taken root, and have borne for ages abundant and useful harvests. As our population, from its natural increase, and enlarged by immigrations from abroad, has spread into the vast regions of the West, the free laborer has been its pioneer, and, by his vigorous activity and self-denying toil, the wilderness has been made to blossom as a rose, and to smile in the light of a true civilization. Let us ever adhere to a policy so wise, so just, so philanthropic.

DUTY OF THE FREE STATES.

It is not to be disguised that, with many of our Southern brethren, the sentiment is quite common, that the people of the free States are more anxious to enjoy the honors and emoluments of office than to maintain with dignity and spirit their equal rights. The South having enjoyed, almost exclusively, the control of the Federal Government from the date of its existence, it has been, for the most part, the exclusive dispenser of those honors and emoluments; and this, doubtless, has greatly contributed to this sentiment. If from these or any other causes the people of the free States have suffered in the estimation of the South, or of the world, the time has now come when they owe it to themselves and to the nation to redeem their character from this reproach. Both the late political parties have the opportunity to do, and are called upon to do this; they may unite in the effort without any abandonment of their distinctive principles. The old issues, which for the last twenty years have divided them, are now settled or set aside; a new issue has been presented, in which all minor differences—and in which differences that under other circumstances would be important—are merged and swallowed up.

It is important, too, that this effort should now be made, and that, if possible, it should be made to succeed. Resist the beginning, is the maxim of political not less than of moral science. This is the first time, since the formation of the Government, that the slave power, while retaining its distinct political associations with the two great national parties, has been able to seize and to sway the sceptres of both. If the people of the free States understand and perform their duty, such an exhibition will never again be witnessed.

THE UNION.

In the throes and spasms with which the slave power labors to perpetuate its ascendency, nothing is more common than the threat to dissolve or depart from the Union, unless the free States yield to its demands. Such threats will produce no effect on the Democracy of New York. Not that we do not love the Union—not that we should not shudder at the possibility of its dissolution. We prize it as above all price. We have never attempted, we will not be provoked to calculate its value. We shall never enter on so chimerical, so unpatriotic a task. No arithmetic known to us is adequate to reckon up the worth of even a thousandth part of the golden chain which binds together, in perpetual bonds, the States of this Confederacy.

But when we listen to the vainglorious boastings, the splenetic ebullitions of the hot-headed and hot-blooded leaders, who assume to speak for the entire South, in many cases, doubtless, with just as much authority as they assume to dictate to the North, we are sometimes compelled to ask ourselves, what would be the North—what, especially, would be New York, if the folly and madness of the Southern slave power should really break up this ancient and long-cherished union of the States?

New York, with a territory possessing boundless advantages for foreign and internal trade; with a temperate and healthful sky, and with extensive districts of fertile soils; with abundant supplies of salt and iron, and peculiar facilities of every kind of manufacturing industry; with a population greater now than that of England at the era of American colonization, and which may well be increased within her borders to four times its present number; with several marts of internal trade, numbering, respectively, from twenty to fifty thousand inhabitants; and, towering above them all, in queenly pride, the commercial metropolis of this hemisphere; with a foreign commerce that brings to the Federal Government more than one-third of its revenue by imposts; with these resources in possession and in prospect, what shall hinder her, if the nullifiers of the Constitution and the abolitionists of freedom—the blind leaders of the blind—shall, by accident or design, drive on their followers to the sin and folly of secession, from being and remaining the chief of the new Republics into which the American States will then be parcelled out?

But New York has no such false ambition. She will never "shoot madly from the sphere" in which faith and duty bind her. She is content to move in the orbit they have marked. She pauses not to inquire whether she receives as much as she bestows; still less to ask whether she might shine more brightly in a pathway of her own. In love and loyalty to the Union she finds her purest joy—a joy which she would not exchange for the gratification of a selfish aggrandizement, or the spoils of victory, poorly purchased with the sacrifice of principle. However adverse may be the signs, however unpropitious the omens, she will cling forever to the Union, nor will she abandon the hope that reason will, ere long, resume her sway, and justice assert her power in the minds of her sisters of the South. When this consummation, so devoutly to be wished for, shall have come, our Southern brethren, we are sure, will again delight to tread with us the path of civic duty and of honorable fame. In the interval, be it long or be it short, the people of New York will quit themselves like men; for in so doing they will not only best preserve their interests and their honor, but best secure the respect of their adversaries. They will act worthy of those who fell, under the eye of Washington, on the heights of Long Island—of those who conquered with Gates and Schuyler on the plains of Saratoga.

THE MASSACHUSETTS FREE TERRITORY CONVENTION—EXTRACT FROM ITS ADDRESS.

THE GAME EXPOSED.

The leaders of the Whig party determined, like their opponents, to risk the result of maintaining their organization. The hope was entertained for a while, that the obligations of the party to Henry Clay, and the public sympathy, which, in some striking modes, had been expressed in his behalf, might enable them once more to rally upon him as their candidate, without incurring the risk of the division that otherwise seemed inevitable. It is a fact to be thought of, that, but for the prospect of an union upon Mr. Clay, the Whig party must probably have been dissolved at the commencement of the canvass. No Northern Whig, acceptable to the North, has been named, of whom it is believed that the South would vote for; and it has been all along understood and virtually conceded, and the whole action of the party has proceeded upon this assumption, that the North must accept a Southern candidate, and must not even claim any other. With the approach of the time for holding a Convention, the hope of succeeding with Mr. Clay, and even of uniting upon him, became visibly impaired. There was a want of confidence in his political strength; he was a thrice-repeated candidate; he had not done enough for either party—as of course he could not do enough for both—to bring himself into full communion with the North or South upon the great question of the day; he seemed disposed to maintain his old stand upon the ground of compromise, and it failed from under him. He was still not without his friends; for no man has been surrounded with warmer and truer ones; *but there were those who called themselves his friends, who had resolved to abandon him.*

It was in this emergency, that the yet tardy movement towards the support of General Taylor began to acquire an increase of interest. Tho hero had received the nomination of the Native American party, and had accepted it. Some detached portions of the Democracy had tendered him their support, and he had accepted it. Sundry meetings of the people, *almost exclusively in the slaveholding States*, had agreed to go for him *without distinction of party*, and he had approved their purpose, and encouraged it. All this had been done manifestly without any expectation, on his part, that the movement would make any further progress, or assume any other shape than to place him before the public as a competitor with the regular candidates of the two great parties; and facts make it certain that he permitted the movement, and promoted it, with the sole expectation and wish of encountering the candidates of both parties, and of defeating them. In this state of things, the Whig politicians of the South, readily perceiving that, upon the abandonment of Mr. Clay, there was no other slaveholding Whig in behalf of whom the Northern Whigs could be expected to sacrifice their admitted right to a candidate, began to contemplate the position of General Taylor. They duly estimated the advantage of his military reputation, and the political value of the popular applause which for the moment was everywhere concentrated upon him. They recognised in him a slaveholder, all whose interests were deeply staked in the maintenance of slavery, and who had allowed himself to be described by his friends as being "*as true to the South as the needle to the pole.*" They saw, too, that the glare of his military reputation would be sufficient to conceal this fact, *at the North*, from the vision of all except the more sensitive Abolitionists; and they calculated, with the help of Northern advisers, how much this fact might contribute to make him "*the only slaveholder that could be elected!*"

So far, let it be remembered, there had been no intimation to the public that General Taylor was a Whig. He stood exclusively upon the ground of being *a no party man*, and he was justified in occupying this ground by the extraordinary facts that he had never voted, and that he had not formed any political opinions. With some disadvantages, it was seen that there were also benefits which might result from his unique non-committalism. Could the Whigs be made content with his condition, it might attract others to his support, to whom any decided Whig peculiarities would be repulsive. To content the Whigs, without incurring the risk of disappointing others, he might be persuaded in the end to declare himself a Whig, "*but not an ultra one,*" and to offset with the assurance that he would once have voted for Mr. Clay, the fact that he did join in applauding the election of General Jackson.

As thus regarded by Southern Whigs, the position of General Taylor was seen to be a source of unexpected relief, in view of the embarrassment under which they must otherwise have taken part in a National Convention. Their decision was at once taken, and, with their courage animated by the enthusiasm with which the name of the old soldier was constantly uttered around them, they inscribed it at once upon their party banner, and resolved to pledge the utmost of Southern chivalry and unanimity to make that banner the ensign of victory.

The action of Southern Whigs, in resolving upon the support of General Taylor, is not to be complained of as evincing any want of political consistency. From General Taylor they are entitled to expect the vigorous exertion of the Executive power and influence in favor of all Slaveholding interests, to the utmost extent of their growing claim of constitutional protection. The people of the South have never allowed themselves to be publicly deceived or betrayed by any of their public men; and this is the last moment at which they can be suspected of being ready to misplace their confidence. When they now resolve to vote for General Taylor, they understand what they are about; and, as soon as he is elected, the whole country will be sure to understand it too.

But the election of General Taylor cannot be effected by the Southern Whigs alone. Their Democratic citizens may, to a large extent, unite in his support, preferring him instinctively to a Northern doughface; but the united votes of all the slaveholding States are not quite yet sufficient to decide the bestowment of the Presidency. There must be Northern help to secure such a result; and the means are supposed to be in operation, by which it is to be obtained.

That General Cass will receive any extensive or effectual support from the Free States, is not to be apprehended. There must be honest Democrats enough in all of them, to co-operate with Mr. Van Buren and the Barnburners, in insuring his defeat. *The election of General Taylor may be as certainly prevented, if there be a similar proportion of the Whigs of the Free States, who are as true to their principles, and resolve to act upon them.*

In respect to the previous state of public sentiment, some important facts were disclosed by the results of the balloting at the Philadelphia Convention. They served to show that *not a Slave State in the Union was ready to accept a Free State candidate*, and that *the Slave States went into the Convention for the purpose of carrying the nomination of General Taylor.* The result was the entire triumph of the slaveholding policy; and, so far as the majority of that Convention were entitled to perform the act, it *was a submission of the Whig party of the nation to an abandonment of the struggle against the extension of Slavery.*

THE RESULT.

The coincidence of the facts that the Conventions of both parties have resulted in the nomination of candidates identified with or pledged to the slaveholding interests, and that it has been the immediate effect of such nominations, to produce at once a division *in each party*, of sufficient importance seriously to impair its strength, or to destroy it, is the necessary explanation of still another and most important fact, which the numerous attendance at this Convention most strikingly attests. We refer to the fact, that there is throughout the Free States a large body of intelligent and respectable citizens, until recently connected with the Whig and Democratic parties, who, in connection with others that had previously abandoned those parties, now find themselves ready, and able, in good faith, and upon principle, to organize a new party, which shall have for its immediate object *the resistance of every scheme for the extension of slavery*, and the promotion of all constitutional measures that are adapted to make the country, to the utmost practicable extent, *a free, virtuous, and prosperous Republic.*

The present Convention has been held to deliberate upon and to provide for such an organization, at least so far as it can be rendered effective in reference to the approaching Presidential election. By a similarly constituted Convention which has been recently held in the State of Ohio, it has been proposed to hold a National Convention in the city of Buffalo, on the 9th day of August next, at which delegates from all the States are invited to attend, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the Presidency, *known to be opposed to the extension of Slavery*, and who may therefore be worthy of the support of the many thousands of free citizens who will not give their votes for General Taylor or General Cass. This Convention has now responded to the call, by providing for the appointment of delegates who shall represent the State of Massachusetts; and we do not suffer ourselves to doubt that the popular sentiment of Massachusetts is so far pledged to our object, as to make it certain, that *none other than the candidate of that Convention* can receive her electoral vote.

Can we be mistaken? If we are wrong in the supposition that General Taylor should not be expected to be in favor of the legal prohibition of the extension of slavery, we may do him injustice. But if that supposition be well founded, is it not to do you the grossest injustice to take it for granted, or to believe it to be possible, that any political combination can be strong enough to place Massachusetts in a position *in which her principles must be seen to have been abandoned, and her character to be sacrificed?* Does Massachusetts abandon her principles, and will she sacrifice her character? What has been inscribed upon her Legislative record so deliberately and solemnly, and repeatedly, as the declaration of her purpose to resist the aggression of the Slave Power, to exert all her political and moral influence to promote the Abolition of Slavery where it exists, and to assume an attitude of determined and uncompromising hostility to its extension? Can she be induced to support the nomination of a candidate who is pledged or must be expected to defeat this purpose.

Again: Upon what other grounds can Massachusetts be asked or expected to aid in the election of General Taylor? Can she now begin to assent to the doctrine that it is wise, or necessary, or safe, to lavish civil honors, and to confer the highest political responsibilities, upon military chieftains? Can she see in the hasty accomplishment of a few victories in the Mexican war, all the evidence she requires of sound and enlightened statesmanship, and all the necessary elements of Executive ability and usefulness? Does she desire to establish the precedent, in conformity to which all the heroes of that war, from the highest general to the lowest subaltern, are to consider themselves entitled, according to their popularity, or, it may be, the pertinacity with which they shall prosecute their claims, *to take precedence of other citizens*, in obtaining the various civil offices of the Government? Or, if different results are to be chiefly kept in view, is it enough for Massachusetts, as an inducement to make the concessions and compromises which are demanded of her, to receive the assurance that her citizens shall not fail of obtaining a share of the higher honors which the party of the Government may bestow, and that her thirst for spoils shall be calculated upon, and allowed for, in the anticipations of victory? If at any moment it has been supposed that Massachusetts might be enticed, by the hope of distinction or of profit, to divest herself of her integrity, was she not properly vindicated by Charles Allen, when he assured the Convention at Philadelphia, that she "*spurns the bribe?*"

THE APPEAL.

People of Massachusetts! The course of duty is plain before us. This is not the time to profess, but to act upon our principles. This is not the time to shrink from trial, but to meet it. The movement we have undertaken must have a beginning; and should it not begin now and here? When Ohio leads the way, and New York beckons her to follow on the path, is not Massachusetts ready to go forward? When Ohio and New York and Massachusetts shall have taken the field together, may not the union and coöperation of all the Free States be safely relied upon?

Let us not be discouraged. There are auspicious signs in every direction. The opposition to our movement, which has thus far been attempted or threatened, betokens, on the part of opponents, a most encouraging consciousness of our strength. The symptoms of dissolution in both the Whig and Democratic parties assure us of the additional vigor that must be imparted to our organization. We begin to see who they are that will soon be with us; not at once the leaders, or the mere politicians, or the office holders or office seekers, of either party, and of course not their numerous satellites and dependents—not at once the timidly conservative, whose instinct it is to fear change and resist progress, even in a right direction—not at once the unreflecting, the undecided, and the irresolute—not quite yet those who calculate cautiously the chances of a failure, and always wait for the certainty of immediate success; but, instead of them, and vastly to be preferred to any of them, the comparatively few or many, everywhere, who think and act for themselves, and who are willing to think, and will be ready to act in their various spheres, as soon as this question of public duty is presented to them—the strong-minded and determined old men, who cannot get rid of their settled convictions, and who wish to spend their last days in the peace of righteousness—a large portion of the men in active life, who make a proper use of the intelligence and influence which our free institutions have secured to them—and *a still larger portion of the younger men*, who, imbued with moral and religious sentiments, respond with enthusiasm to the call of duty, and are eager, as they are ready, to enter at once upon the race of honor. To a party constituted of such intellectual and moral elements, combining in fit proportions the wisdom of age, the vigor of manhood, and the ardor of youth, and concentrating all its resources upon the support of a good cause, what obstacle can be insurmountable?

Let us not be discouraged. The spirit of the country and the spirit of the age are in sympathy with our movements. An attempt to supply the principal defect of our institutions, to give complete efficacy to the Declaration of Independence, to strengthen the foundations of the Union, must succeed, sooner or later; and just as soon as we shall have discharged our whole duty, a better day will dawn upon the country. The good of the country is our object, and we can consult and provide for it; and as, with pure motives and earnest efforts, we continue to advance in our patriotic course, more and more voices will be raised to cheer us, more and more hands will be stretched out to aid us, and more and more hearts will be warmed with gratitude to Heaven in the prospect of our success.

Nor will sympathy and coöperation await us in our own country alone. Every steamship that now crosses the Atlantic is an Anti-Slavery packet, and comes here freighted with intelligence which serves to advance the cause of freedom. Every revolution in Europe reacts upon America. As chain after chain is broken there, it becomes the more difficult to rivet new chains here. Great Britain, pointing to her emancipated colonies, implores us to abolish slavery. Republican France, too, promptly appeals by her example. From the banks of the Rhine, from the Seven Hills of Rome, from the towers of Constantinople, and from the Barbary coast, the mingled voices of Protestant and Catholic Christians, and of Mahometans, solicit and remonstrate with us to remove from our Government its only blemish, to make this Republic a model for the world.

We will not, then, be discouraged. Truth, Justice, Liberty, Patriotism, and Humanity, are bound together in indissoluble union, and are destined to share a common triumph. WE KNOW OUR DUTY—WE APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE—AND WE TRUST IN GOD.

IOWA.

The State Liberty Convention of Iowa met in Salem, Iowa, during the last week in May. The *Freeman* says "it was by far the most numerously attended, harmonious in feeling, spirited in action, and firm in conclusions, of any which have been held in the State."

Measures were taken to place the *Freeman*, the organ of the party, on a permanent basis. Resolutions were passed, defining the position of the party, sustaining John P. Hale, and denouncing the black laws, and a plan for organization throughout the State was adopted.

INDIANA.

The Indiana State Liberty Convention met at Indianapolis, June 12th, and organized by the election of B. G. Noble, Esq., for President. Judge Stevens, from the Committee on Resolutions, reported a series, from which we quote the following:

"*Resolved*, That the nomination of John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and Leicester King, of Ohio, as candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, meets our entire approbation; and that the spirit evinced by Mr. Hale, in his letter of acceptance of the same, in which he avows his intention of withdrawing his name as a candidate, provided either of the other political parties should present a man who should fairly represent the principles of the Wilmot Proviso, and that he would give his personal influence to secure his election, is worthy of himself, and proclaims to the American People his true devotion to the best interests of his country. But the Liberty party was never formed to promote the personal aggrandizement or to gratify the political ambition of any man; it was the love of principle alone which induced its members to leave their old political associations, and rally to the support of the great principles solemnly proclaimed by our forefathers, and to the rescue of the Federal Constitution from the violence of the slave power. That we believe the principles of the Wilmot Proviso are in strict accordance with the understanding of our forefathers, at the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, with all its compromises on the subject of the extension of human slavery; and, for proof of this, we appeal to the Ordinance of Congress of 1787. That we hailed with delight the honest expression of public sentiment in the free States, in favor of said Proviso, as put forth and declared in the resolutions of both of the political parties, in their general and local conventions, and through the newspaper press; and we had fondly hoped that the time had arrived when the Liberty party could heartily and cheerfully enlist under the banners of one or the other of said parties—believing that the love of consistency, at least, if acted upon by no higher motive, would compel them to present to the freemen of the North candidates for the Presidency who would be fully pledged before the world to stand fast by their principles, so fully and recently avowed before the American People. But in this we, together with the great masses of the free States, have been cruelly mocked; and fully believing that the laboring masses of the free States are dissatisfied with the nominations for President and Vice President of both the Whig and so-called Democratic parties, and believing that other candidates would be selected for their support if their voices could be heard in convention, we, the friends of the principles of the Wilmot Proviso, recommend that measures be immediately taken to call a National Mass Convention, to be held at some convenient point, in order that all persons who are opposed to the further extension of slave territory by the United States may nominate candidates for President and Vice President who shall fully and fairly represent their views upon that subject; and that the Liberty party of Indiana will heartily unite in the support of such nomination, without regard to party names or personal preferences.

"*Resolved*, That this Convention most decidedly and heartily approbates the course pursued by the Hon. John P. Hale, of the Senate, and by the Hon. Messrs. Giddings, Tuck, Palfrey, and others, in the House of Representatives, in the defence of constitutional liberty, during the present session of Congress, and do hereby most unanimously present our thanks to them."

The following electoral ticket was chosen:

S. C. Stevens and Elizur Deming, for the State.

First district, Nathan Little; second district, Lyman Hoyt; third district, S. S. Harding; fourth district, Z. Casterline; fifth district, Israel L. Pfaff; sixth district, Eli J. Sumner; seventh district, Andrew Coffin; eighth district, Samuel Ritchie; ninth district, G. Pomeroy; tenth district, Daniel Worth.

EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

A Convention of the Liberty party for Eastern Pennsylvania was held in Philadelphia, June 20th, and organized by calling to the chair Samuel B. Porter. The Convention appointed an electoral ticket for one-half the State, acting in concert with the Western Convention, which had appointed for the other half. Among the resolutions adopted were the following:

"*Resolved*, That the disaffection so generally manifested in the Whig and Democratic parties, so far as it is produced by anti-slavery sentiment, outraged beyond endurance and driven into an attitude of resistance by the utter submission of the late National Conventions of these two parties to the slave power and policy of the South, promises a speedy revival and effective vindication of Liberty principles; and that the threatened disorganization of those parties, on the same ground which compelled our own early separation from them, at once concedes the necessity and propriety of our past action and present position, and gives full assurance of our final triumph.

"*Resolved*, That as a distinct political party we have nothing to repent of, and perceive nothing that now demands change either in our principles or policy; but, as the mere machinery of party organization should not be permitted to defeat its own legitimate ends, we stand, as we have ever stood, ready to co-operate with true men of every name who are in like manner ready to work with us for the emancipation of the slave, the reformation of his oppressor, and the establishment of free principles in the civil government of the States and of the Union."

Resolutions were adopted sustaining the nomination of Mr. Hale.

Extract of an Address of the Philadelphia Young Men's Liberty Association to the Young Men of the Liberty Party.

Holding these views, we have formed ourselves into a society, having for its objects the spread of anti-slavery principles, and their effectual expression at the ballot-box. Our stated meetings are held semi-monthly, the President being empowered to call special meetings at his discretion. Our intention is to meet at different places in the city and suburbs, as from time to time may be deemed eligible, and to procure the services of speakers to address the people as frequently as possible. In these assemblies, we hope frequently to have the assistance of such eloquent advocates of our cause as may reside in this city or its vicinity, and occasionally that of transient visiters from a greater distance. Besides these principal measures, other and incidental ones may occasionally claim our attention—as sending delegates to the various Liberty Conventions held in the vicinity, attending to the supply and distribution of tickets at elections, and other local and transient business. Hereafter, should our numbers and our funds warrant it, we may think it expedient to print, for gratuitous distribution, Congressional speeches or other tracts bearing upon the subject of slavery. At present, our chief dependence is placed upon public meetings and oral addresses.

We invite you to examine our plan, and, if it meets your approval, we would suggest the propriety of forming similar associations wherever it has not been already done. Let us have Young Men's Liberty Associations scattered thickly over our land, raising up new hosts to fight the peaceful battles of Freedom, and joining their voices with those of the faithful band who are calling upon the nation to awaken from "Slavery's fatal sleep."

The anticipation of a number of such societies, scattered throughout the country, naturally brings us to another proposition. Within the wide range of these various associations, occurrences are daily taking place, the relation of which would interest all portions of the confederated army of Liberty. Let us establish among our widely scattered societies a mutual correspondence, and thereby communicate to each other the state of the cause in our several districts of country. If an eloquent advocate of Freedom is laboring in our vicinity, let us inform each other of the result of his labors, whether the people are freely joining in the struggle against slavery, or still slumbering over the encroachments it is making upon their liberties. Let us tell whether political orators and party presses in our respective neighborhoods venture to speak in manly tones of the arrogance of the Southern slave power and the duties of Northern freemen, and how far the masses approve and sustain their action. Let us keep each other advised of what we have done and are doing in the cause, and what results have crowned our exertions. These communications, coming from all quarters of the extended field of labor, will be deeply interesting and instructive, and will give to our meetings such varied interest and importance, that members will not be absent from them without reluctance. Or should it appear to any of us that a combined movement of several societies would be advantageous, either by a convention of delegates or some other co-operative action, an epistolary correspondence will furnish a convenient channel for making the proposition and arranging the preliminaries. We ask you to look at this proposition also, and in case you approve of it, we shall be gratified to receive from any of you an account of your organization, with the address of your corresponding officers. Any communication you may think proper to address to us may be directed to our Secretary, at the Liberty Office, No. 46 North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

These sentiments and propositions are advanced in no dictatorial spirit, and with no desire to arrogate to ourselves any degree of leadership or control in this movement. It may be that our first proposal has been anticipated in numerous instances, and that many such societies are already in existence. We shall receive with much pleasure the information that such is the case, and to these existing associations, as to those which may hereafter be formed, would extend our offer of an interchange of greeting and a co-operation of effort. The present is an important and auspicious period in the history of our cause. Thousands in the North are preparing to stand forth in opposition to slavery, more boldly and uncompromisingly than ever before; and in the South, many true-hearted reformers are nobly grappling with the monster in his den. Be it ours to do our part in the great struggle for Freedom. A voice comes to us across the broad Atlantic, inciting us to perseverance. France has thrown off the shackles of monarchy, and manifested the sincerity of her devotion to Liberty, by promising the extension of its blessings to her colonial bondmen. The strugglings of the awakening spirit of Liberty are heaving the breast of Europe as with the throes of a mighty earthquake. Shall despotism find its last and strongest foothold on the soil of Republican America? Rather let our country wipe the black stain of slavery from her escutcheon, resume her ancient position at the head of the vanguard of Freedom, and become what her founders designed her to be, the hope and refuge of the down-trodden of every clime, the land of genuine and universal liberty, and the Model Republic of the Globe.

PASCHAL GOGGINS, *President.*
WILLIAM J. CANBY, *Secretary.*

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 27, 1848.

THE WORCESTER CONVENTION—MR. VAN BUREN.

BOSTON, *June* 29, 1848.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The Free Soil Convention at Worcester, six thousand strong, adjourned at ten o'clock last night. It has been a memorable occasion. The dissolution of the old parties has been effectually pronounced. A movement has been commenced in the country towns of Massachusetts, from the sheer impulse of the people, which promises, like that in Ohio, to merge all old distinctions in the one issue of the non-extension of slavery. This movement is but a few days, hardly weeks old, and yet, as the probable seed of a revolution, should command attention. You will receive the details of this Convention from others. I wish only to make a few remarks on its tone, and some of its special events.

The majority of the Convention belonged to the late Whig party. Old recollections and associations would therefore occasionally come up; but the whole enthusiasm of the meeting was reserved for the declaration, frequently repeated, that every issue and name should be merged in the one object of opposition to slavery-extension. There was no partial consecration of the heart to the new movement. It was thorough and unreserved.

It was generally taken for granted that the issue in the present contest was to be the non-extension of slavery; but the feeling of the meeting, indicated by the responses to the speakers, went far beyond this, embracing the whole scope of the Liberty movement. The new organization in Massachusetts understands and accepts the whole work before it. It is ready and anxious for the struggle.

Very clear and unmistakeable indications were given of the preferences of the Convention for the individuals who should represent them in the national nominations. The names of *Hale* and *Giddings*, coming up in various connections, were received with unbounded enthusiasm. An allusion to "John and Joshua" met with the heartiest applause, and finally, when the Rev. J. P. Lovejoy, in the evening, spoke of these two men as the candidates on which all could unite, the cheering was deafening and prolonged. Mr. Van Buren received also the commendation of the Convention for the positive ground taken by him, but not in any connection as its candidate. As regards Mr. Webster, the cry came, "It is too late," and the Convention could not even be induced unanimously to express the hope that he would stand forth as a Northern man, although his refusal, as yet, to endorse the nomination of Taylor, met with warm approbation.

The letter of Mr. Van Buren was a subject of conversation among the members, and alluded to by one of the speakers. This letter is, so far, the most marked event of the present campaign, and, expressing here the opinion of a single individual, the most dangerous event which has occurred. Its first idea is, the Democratic party; its second, Free Soil; and this last so associated with compromise toward the South, as to form a basis, and the only possible basis, for a National Democratic Party hereafter. The object of the letter seems to be, to define the present movement and limit it, to place veto-pledges and barriers in front of it. Now, it may not be possible to control the movement once commenced, but the whole tendency of the letter is to offer a ground of concession to the South, affirming the position held by them in the National Government, before their recent aggressions.

One single fact, in conclusion, should be brought out with regard to this Convention. Its enthusiasm was unmeasured, bordering, at times, even on wildness. No such demonstration has taken place in Massachusetts since 1840. The life exhibited by it contrasts, in a striking manner, with the ominous silence of the ratification meetings of the other parties.

Yours, C.

WORCESTER, *June* 29, 1848.

To the Editor of the National Era:

By the time this note reaches you, the detailed accounts of the great Freedom Convention held here yesterday will probably be in your possession, and you will see that all is right. It would have been better, if the call for the Convention had been made by all branches of the Freedom Party; but it was necessary that the call should be given before it was possible to have any concerted action of that sort, and the lead has fallen upon the men who, in this State, were naturally to be expected to be foremost in the new Liberty movement. This is only a grand beginning; and the desire for union among all the opponents of the Slave Power showed itself to be universal in the Convention.

The estimates of the number of people present differ, as usual in such cases. There could not have been less than 5,000, and double that number is thought by some to be a reasonable estimate. But the great point of interest in the assemblage was its character. The able speakers called forth by it, found before them not merely a "sea of up-turned faces," but an audience of MEN—men of all classes, with the fire of Freedom burning in their bosoms and with hearts ready and eager for the most determined action. And it will tell. Even the blindest politician may now see that the people have some brains and some heart left, notwithstanding all the efforts that have been made to befool the one and stifle the other.

I was struck with the personal appearance of several of the Whig champions of freedom on the platform. They seemed relieved of a heavy load, that pressed upon them before they broke the ties that bound them to their party. They never looked better. The venerable Mr. Hoar, in presiding over the Convention, appeared to feel perfectly at home in his new position.

Mr. Giddings was received, as everybody knew he would be, with an enthusiasm that baffles description. One of the best things about his speech was, that it was not a strained effort. It seemed to be his desire to reason with the people, while he gave them the benefit of his wise counsel in an impressive manner, rather than to create a mere temporary excitement by the force of oratorical display.

All the speeches were well received. Mr. Lovejoy met with a hearty response, when he went for "striking the axe at the root of the tree," instead of stopping at the Wilmot Proviso; but a large majority of the Convention were doubtless in favor of making the Proviso the grand issue in the approaching canvass. The desire to go into a National Convention, on the 9th of August, for the nomination of candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, seemed to be unanimous. The heart of the Commonwealth beats with new life.

G. W. L.

For the National Era.

WILMOT PROVISO MEETING.

In pursuance of previous notice, a meeting of the friends of the Wilmot Proviso, without distinction of party, was held at Oswego, Indiana, on the 17th of June, 1848, to consult on their duty in the present political crisis in our country. N. Dille was called to the Chair, and J. F. Kerr was appointed Secretary.

A committee of two was appointed to prepare resolutions expressive of the sense of this meeting in relation to the political affairs of our country. After a short absence, the committee reported the following resolutions, which, after due consideration, were adopted *nem. con.*:

Whereas the time has arrived when it devolves upon us, as freemen, to vindicate our rights against the *encroachments* of the South; and whereas the candidates of the two great parties of the day are *Southern* in principle; therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of the "Wilmot Proviso."

2. *Resolved*, That we will support no man for any important office who is not in favor of this great principle.

3. *Resolved*, That the Chair appoint a Committee of Vigilance, to bring this subject before the people of this district.

4. *Resolved*, That we have full confidence in the integrity of John P. Hale and Leicester King, the present Liberty candidates for President and Vice President; and believing that, if elected, they will carry out this our great principle, we will give them our hearty support.

5. *Resolved*, That we tender to Messrs. Hale and Giddings our thanks for the fearless stand which they have taken in Congress in favor of Liberty.

The following resolution was moved by Mr. P. Reynolds, and adopted unanimously:

Resolved, That we are opposed to elevating to the highest office in the gift of the People a military chieftain, because of its inevitable tendency, ere long, to throw us into a military despotism.

The following gentlemen were appointed the Committee of Vigilance: T. W. Kirkpatrick, Dr. L. B. White, P. Reynolds, F. Pelton, H. Sadd; with power to call a county Convention.

Ordered, That the proceedings of this meeting be forwarded to the Kosciusko Republican and National Era for publication; and that papers favorable to the cause be requested to copy.

N. DILLE, *Chairman.*
J. F. KERR, *Secretary.*